LIBYA

2016ER ATTACKS

Rand Paul has been the most outspoken critic of Hillary Clinton's foreign policy, accusing her of rushing into war in Libya and then quickly abandoning the country after the fall of Gadhafi—a development he claims helped facilitate security issues like the attack on Benghazi and the rise of ISIL.

RAND PAUL CLAIMED CLINTON'S HANDLING OF THE INTERVENTION IN LIBYA WAS HER "MAIN ACHILLES' HEEL"

Rand Paul Said Hillary Clinton's "Main Achilles' Heel" Was That She Did Not Think Through The "Unintended Consequences" Of Involvement In Libya And Did Not Provide "An Adequate Defense For Our Consulate In Libya." "'Her [Hillary Clinton's] main Achilles' heel is that she didn't provide an adequate defense for our consulate in Libya,' Paul said during a trip to Georgia just before the midterms. 'And also, she didn't think through the unintended consequences of getting involved in the Libyan war. So I think you'd have an interesting dynamic, were there a [Republican] nominee that was for less intervention overseas and in the Middle East and that's fiscally conservative. You've never seen that kind of combination before, and I think there's a lot of independent voters, actually, that might be attracted to that kind of message." [Politico, 11/9/14]

Rand Paul Referred To U.S. Military Engagement In Libya As "Hillary's War" And Said The Rise Of ISIS Was An Unintended Consequence Of It. "Sen. Rand Paul (R-KY) certainly has a knack for boldness. On Sunday's Meet the Press, he dubbed U.S. military engagement in Libya 'Hillary's war' and stated the rise of the Islamic State (ISIS) is not a result of President Obama's inaction in the Middle East but the unintended consequence of the U.S. military engagement in Libya." [Breitbart, 8/27/14]

Rand Paul: "Hillary's War In Libya Allowed Thousands Of Surface-To-Air Missiles To Fall Into The Hands Of Radical Islamists." "Hillary's war in Libya is a perfect example...Hillary's war made us less safe. Libya's less stable, and radical jihadists run amok. They swim in our swimming pool! Hillary's war in Libya allowed thousands of surface-to-air missiles to fall into the hands of radical Islamists. As Hillary was declaring victory in Libya, Ambassador Stevens was pleading for more security." [CPAC Speech, 2/27/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON CLAIMED THAT THE U.S. DID NOT ABANDON LIBYA AFTER INTERVENING TO OUST GADHAFI

Secretary Clinton: "We Did Stick Around" In Libya After Gadhafi Was Ousted, "With Offers Of Money And Technical Assistance...To Border Security, Training." When *The Atlantic*'s Jeffrey Goldberg claimed that the U.S. did not stick around for the aftermath of Qaddafi's fall in Libya, Secretary Clinton said: "Well, we did stick around. We stuck around with offers of money and technical assistance, on everything from getting rid of some of the nasty stuff he left behind, to border security, to training." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

VISITING LIBYA JUST BEFORE GADHAFI'S DEATH, CLINTON OFFERED U.S. SUPPORT FOR A DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION, CITING U.S. AUSTERITY AS THE REASON AID TOTALS REMAINED LOW

New York Times: In Late 2011, Secretary Clinton "Pledged Political And Economic Support For Libya's Transitional Government." "Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged political and economic support for Libya's transitional government on Tuesday, even as a senior administration official warned that Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi and his loyalists remained 'a lethal nuisance' who could stall the country's evolution... Mrs. Clinton raised a host of issues with Mr. Abdel-Jalil and other Libyan officials, including the consolidation of political control, the prevention of violence against Colonel Qaddafi's supporters and the integration of myriad rebel militias into a new security structure." [New York Times, 10/18/11]

New York Times: Between February And October 2011, "The United States... Contributed \$135 Million In Assistance To Libya's New Leader...Including Humanitarian Aid And Military Equipment — Though Not Weapons, Which France, Qatar And Other Nations Have Supplied." "The United States has contributed \$135 million in assistance to Libya's new leaders since February, including humanitarian aid and military equipment — though not weapons, which France, Qatar and other nations have supplied." [New York Times, 10/18/11]

• New York Times: In Late 2011 Secretary Clinton Promised Libya "Medical Equipment And Treatment In The United States For Some Of The Most Gravely Wounded Fighters, Educational And Cultural Exchanges And A Project...To Help Preserve Ancient Ruins." "Mrs. Clinton promised more help on Tuesday, including medical equipment and treatment in the United States for some of the most gravely wounded fighters, educational and cultural exchanges and a project with Oberlin College in Ohio to help preserve ancient ruins at Cyrene." [New York Times, 10/18/11]

New York Times: Secretary Clinton "Said The Relatively Meager Amount Of New Assistance [To Libya] Reflected Not Only Fiscal Austerity At Home...But Also The Fact That Oil-Rich Libya Needed Expertise More Than Cash To Rebuild Its Society And Economy." "Mrs. Clinton said the relatively meager amount of new assistance reflected not only fiscal austerity at home — she told Mr. Jibril that such aid faced deep opposition in Congress — but also the fact that oil-rich Libya needed expertise more than cash to rebuild its society and economy after four decades under Colonel Qaddafi." [New York Times, 10/18/11]

FACT CHECKERS HAVE DEBUNKED CLAIMS THAT THE U.S. ALLOWED REBELS TO ACQUIRE THOUSANDS OF SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES AFTER GADHAFI'S FALL

Politifact: Of An Estimated 20,000 Surface-To-Air Missiles That Gadhafi Amassed Over 40 Years, "The United States Recovered 5,000, NATO Destroyed Thousands, The U.S.-Backed Transitional Government Acquired Many, And Many Are Inoperable." "The 2011 U.S.-backed Libyan uprising -- part of the Arab Spring -- toppled the decades-long dictator Col. Muammar Gaddafi. At the time, the State Department estimated that Gaddafi had amassed about 20,000 MANPADS over 40 years...Of those 20,000 MANPADS -- the United States recovered 5,000, NATO destroyed thousands, the U.S.-backed transitional government acquired many, and many are inoperable. While we know terrorists got their hands on a few, it's highly unlikely that they have 'thousands.'" [Politifact, 3/9/15]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

Christie Said President Obama Had Taken The Leadership Role In Libyan Conflict
—"He's Calling The Shots, And We All Know That." MORGAN: "Would you like to see a spreading of that load going forward, where America's not the go-to country -- for military support, for helping out with despotic regimes and so on?" CHRISTIE: "Well, America's

always got to be the leader in that regard." MORGAN: "Does it have to be?" CHRISTIE: "I think it does –" MORGAN: "I mean, look at Libya and the way President Obama dealt with that. You know, he quite deliberately decided America wasn't going to be the leader." CHRISTIE: "Yes. But we really are. I mean, come on, let's face it, we are. He's calling the shots, and we all know that. And so, let's not be kidding because they call it something different. America's taken the responsibility." [Piers Morgan Tonight, CNN, 6/14/11]

The Senate Voted 90-10 To Shelve Rand Paul's Resolution Saying The President Could Not Act Unilaterally In Libya, Which He Forced To The Floor By Threatening To Hold Up Senate Action Until It Was Voted On. "On a 90-to-10 vote, the Senate on Tuesday voted to shelve a resolution proposed by Sen. Rand Paul (R-Ky.) on the U.S. involvement in Libya, four days after Paul and a fellow freshman, Sen. Mike Lee (R-Utah), threatened to hold up Senate action until Paul's measure was brought to the floor...The Paul resolution is comprised of one sentence: a statement made by then-Sen. Barack Obama in 2007 that the president cannot unilaterally act on matters of war." [Washington Post, 4/5/11]

Pence Thanked Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton For Her Efforts To "Isolate Libya During A Time Of Extraordinary Tragedy In The Streets." "Thank you, Chairman. And I want to thank the Secretary of State for her testimony and her service to the country. It's good to see you back before the committee. I also want to thank you, specifically, for the efforts by the administration and your offices to further isolate Libya during a time of extraordinary tragedy in the streets, tragedy of which I think we're probably only partially aware. I – I want to continue to encourage and urge the administration to stand with those that are standing in that now bifurcated country to use all means at our disposal to provide support and certainly associate myself with Mr. Royce's comments about isolating radio communications and – and would express appreciation for your efforts at Geneva and elsewhere to facilitate a coordinated — a coordinated international response, including a nofly zone. Gadhafi must go. And I'm – I'm grateful to hear the Secretary of State and the administration take that position unambiguously." [Hearing on Assessing U.S. Foreign Policy Priorities and Needs Amidst Economic Challenges, House Foreign Affairs Committee, 3/1/11]

Pence: "I Certainly Support The Decision To Enforce A No-Fly Zone [In Libya] With The Wanton Slaughter Of Civilians That Was Taking Place At The Hands Of Muammar Gaddafi." "COTTO: Let's get into this budget thing, but for starters, because obviously Libya is pretty significant in the news today, can I just get your initial thoughts on us getting involved over there? Do you think it's a good idea? A bad idea? Too late? What are your thoughts? PENCE: Well, I certainly support the decision to enforce a no-fly zone with the wanton slaughter of civilians that was taking place at the hands of Muammar Gaddafi. I think the international community responded in a proper way. I'm disappointed that the President consulted with the UN and didn't consult or seek resolution for the use of force from the Congress. It's also disappointing for me to see us yield the lead role to the French in this matter. I mean, the French are essentially leading the world community in confronting Muammar Gaddafi." [Radio Interview, WLS-AM, 3/21/11]

Rubio Said Congress Should Go Beyond President Obama's State Goals In Libya And Authorize The Removal Of Gadhafi. "While many Republicans have questioned U.S. military strikes in Libya and the Obama administration has emphasized limits on America's role, freshman GOP Sen. Marco Rubio says Congress should go beyond President Obama's stated goals and authorize the removal of Moammar Gadhafi." [Palm Beach Post, 4/1/11]

Rubio Refused To Give The President More Credit On Libya - Insisting It Was To The Credit Of Europe. Asked if the President should get more credit for bring down Gadaffi, Rubio said: "No, let's give credit where it's due. Number one, the French and the British carry the load on this and let's not forget that. Number two, the Libyan people.

Actually, I should say it in the reverse. The Libyan people, OK? (Inaudible) -- those Libyans laying in those beds who fought for their freedom and were able to accomplish it. The British, the French and our NATO allies who were involved. I think the president did the right thing. He just took too long to do it and he didn't do enough of it and the proof is in -- is in -- you see it now before us. What has happened as a result of this being an extended conflict? A number of things. The country is now more beat up. It's going to cost more money to rebuild Libya. You have more people dead. You have more people maimed. And so people that instead of being able to go work have to go to rehab to be able to gain their functionality. You have thousands of rocket -- shoulder fired rockets that are missing all of that because of how long this took in the chaos." [Rubio Media Availability on Jobs, 10/20/11]

Politifact: Rand Paul's Claim That U.S. Intervention In Libya "Allowed Thousands Of Surface-To-Air Missiles To Fall Into The Hands Of Radical Islamists" Is Mostly False. "Paul said that U.S. military involvement in Libya 'allowed thousands of surface-to-air missiles to fall into the hands of radical Islamists.' Experts told us that even though some terrorists are known to have a few Libyan surface-to-air missiles, the idea that they have 'thousands' is extremely unlikely... It's also incorrect to say the United States' military involvement caused these missiles to go missing. The weapon looting began before the United States and NATO showed up. And when they showed up, they destroyed or recovered many thousands. It's arguable that American involvement had the exact opposite effect than what Paul asserts. The statement contains an element of truth but ignores critical facts that would give a different impression, so we rate Paul's claim Mostly False." [Politifact, 3/9/15]

BENGHAZI

2016ER ATTACKS

State Department Stonewalling

Ted Cruz On Hillary Clinton And Benghazi: "She Has Deliberately Stonewalled." "'What I think is that she has deliberately stonewalled,' Cruz said in an interview with George Stephanopoulos on 'This Week.' 'The American people deserve the truth; our men and women in harm's way deserve the truth,' the Texas Republican added." [ABC News, 6/1/14; Ted Cruz Interview, This Week, ABC, 6/1/14]

Political Messaging In Benghazi Response

Ted Cruz Said Hillary Clinton Had "Stonewalled" On Benghazi And Said Her Chief Political Aide Instructed Foreign Services Officers Not To Talk To Members Of The Press Or Congress." "MR. STEPHANOPOULOS: Rand Paul said her handling of Benghazi's disqualifying her from the presidency. Do you agree? SEN. CRUZ: What I think is that she has deliberately stonewalled. We know, for example, that her chief political aide, Cheryl Mills, went to senior foreign services officers and told them, don't talk to the press, don't talk to members of Congress." [Ted Cruz Interview, "This Week with George Stephanopoulos", ABC, 6/1/14]

Inadequate Diplomatic Security And Preparation

Rand Paul Said That Hillary Clinton Admitted She Had Not Read The Cables From Benghazi And If He Had Been President, He Would Have Fired Her. "Paul also

commented on what he said was the current administration's failure in the handling the 2012 attack on the American consulate in Benghazi, Libya. 'Six months in advance, possibly nine months in advance, Hillary Clinton was asked for more security and it was denied,' Paul said. 'At the same time, \$100,000 was spent for a charging station at the Vienna embassy for their cars, \$5 million was spent on crystal wear for the embassies, \$100,000 was spent to send three comedians to India. I asked Hillary one question, 'Did you read the cables?' She said, 'No.' I said frankly, 'If I had been president you would have been relieved of your duties.''" [The Lima News, 10/21/14]

Rand Paul: "Had I Been President At The Time" Of Benghazi, "I Would Have Relieved You Of Your Post." "Ultimately, with your leaving, you accept the culpability for the worst tragedy since 9/11, and I really mean that. Had I been President at the time, and I found that you did not read the cables from Benghazi, you did not read the cables from Ambassador Stevens, I would have relieved you of your post." [Senate Hearing on Benghazi Consulate Attack, C-SPAN, 1/23/13]

Rand Paul Said Hillary Clinton Should Be Precluded From Being Commander In Chief Since She Could Not "Protect Our Embassies." "But Paul saved special scorn for Clinton, the prospective frontrunner for the 2016 Democratic presidential nomination, specifically highlighting her role in the events surrounding the deadly 2012 attacks on American consulate in Benghazi, Libya. 'If she wants to be commander in chief and she cannot protect our embassies, I don't think that she could or should be,' Paul said. 'I think it precludes her from ever being considered as commander in chief.'" [Politico, 8/29/14]

Rand Paul Compared The Benghazi Incident To A 1993 Mission In Somalia In Which President Clinton's Then-Secretary Of Defense Resigned Following The Death Of Americans, And Said That If Hillary Clinton Had "Worked For Bill Clinton, She'd Probably Have Been Fired." "The first-term senator went on to compare Benghazi to the 1993 mission in Mogadishu, Somalia, in which 18 U.S. military members were killed. Two months after the tragedy, President Bill Clinton announced the resignation of Les Aspin, then secretary of the defense. Aspin had taken heat for denying security requests for U.S. forces in the region just a month before the attack. 'He ignored the request and he resigned ultimately in disgrace,' Paul said. 'I think had Hillary Clinton worked for Bill Clinton, she'd probably have been fired.'" [CNN, 8/29/14]

Rubio On Obama's And Hillary Clinton's U.S. Foreign Policy: They Thought "America's Problems Around The World Were Created By A Robust Foreign Policy Through The Bush Administration, And That His Job Was To Extract Us From These Things Around The World. I Think That's Proven To Be A Disaster." MR: "The ultimate responsibility is on the President, and on the members of his cabinet, like Hillary Clinton, who guide policy and who make decisions on management and so forth with regards to the decisions that were made with security at this facility in Benghazi. And for the President, he's the one who has failed to lay out a strategic view of what America's role in the world is. To the extent that there is one, it seems to have been that America's problems around the world were created by a robust foreign policy through the Bush administration, and that his job was to extract us from these things around the world. I think that's proven to be a disaster." [Hugh Hewitt Show, 6/9/14]

Rubio On The Number One Question He Would Ask Hillary Clinton About Benghazi If Given The Opportunity: "Think That Question Would Be Explain To Us The Process By Which The Decision Was Made To Keep That Consulate Open, Given All Of This Information That's Out There." GB: "If you were in the House, hypothetically, and on this Select Committee..." MR: "Yeah." GB: "And if Secretary Clinton were to show up, what is the number one question you think that she hasn't sufficiently answered that you would put to her?" MR: "And I think that question would be explain to us the process by

which the decision was made to keep that consulate open, given all of this information that's out there, and I think it'll be very important to see whether this Select Committee will be able to hold hearings in a classified setting, where the details about some of that reporting stream will be, they'll be able to delve into." [Hugh Hewitt Show, 6/9/14]

Rand Paul Said That There Was A Bar That Everyone Running For The Presidency Needed To Pass Of Would They Defend The Country And Our Interests, And If You Were Not Able To Do That Then You Should Not Be President. ED BERLINER: "Should all of this then disqualify her [Hillary Clinton] as a candidate for the presidency?" RAND PAUL: "I think the main thing, and I think there's a bar that everyone who wants to run for the president and that's will you defend the country? Will you defend our people? Will you defend American interests? And I think if you're not able to do that or not up to the task, that really you shouldn't be president. And that's why I've said Benghazi should preclude her from consideration because it wasn't just that she made mistakes that day, it was for nine months preceding that. She was probably asked 20 times for more security for that embassy. When I asked her did you read the cables from Ambassador Stevens, she acted as if she just didn't have time, she was too busy traveling the world and showing that she was a great traveling secretary of state. But there's a real problem when the ambassador is pleading for help and saving we're in danger of being overrun and you continue to reduce the security forces there. And I think it was worse than that. I think it's sort of this politically correct sort of thing where they didn't want people to have arms, they didn't want our people to wear their uniforms. They didn't want our people even to wear their military boots because that somehow would defend the sensibility of the Libyans. It just shows poor judgment I think that she was unable to really get beyond that to say, you know what, our first mission is actually to protect our people in the field." [Midpoint, Newsmax TV, 3/3/15]

Rand Paul Said That Benghazi Should Preclude Hillary Clinton From The Presidency Because It Was Not Just Mistakes On That Day, It Was Nine Months Of Ignoring Security Requests From The Ambassador. ED BERLINER: "Should all of this then disqualify her [Hillary Clinton] as a candidate for the presidency?" RAND PAUL: "I think the main thing, and I think there's a bar that everyone who wants to run for the president and that's will you defend the country? Will you defend our people? Will you defend American interests? And I think if you're not able to do that or not up to the task, that really you shouldn't be president. And that's why I've said Benghazi should preclude her from consideration because it wasn't just that she made mistakes that day, it was for nine months preceding that. She was probably asked 20 times for more security for that embassy. When I asked her did you read the cables from Ambassador Stevens, she acted as if she just didn't have time, she was too busy traveling the world and showing that she was a great traveling secretary of state. But there's a real problem when the ambassador is pleading for help and saying we're in danger of being overrun and you continue to reduce the security forces there. And I think it was worse than that. I think it's sort of this politically correct sort of thing where they didn't want people to have arms, they didn't want our people to wear their uniforms. They didn't want our people even to wear their military boots because that somehow would defend the sensibility of the Libyans. It just shows poor judgment I think that she was unable to really get beyond that to say, you know what, our first mission is actually to protect our people in the field." [Midpoint, Newsmax TV, 3/3/15]

Rand Paul Said It Showed "Poor Judgment" That Hillary Clinton Was Not Able To Get Over Political Correctness And Allow Security Forces In Libya To Have Arms And Their Uniforms, Even If It Offended The Sensibility Of Libyans. ED BERLINER: "Should all of this then disqualify her [Hillary Clinton] as a candidate for the presidency?" RAND PAUL: "I think the main thing, and I think there's a bar that everyone who wants to run for the president and that's will you defend the country? Will you defend our people? Will you defend American interests? And I think if you're not able to do that or not up to the task, that really you shouldn't be president. And that's why I've said Benghazi should preclude her

from consideration because it wasn't just that she made mistakes that day, it was for nine months preceding that. She was probably asked 20 times for more security for that embassy. When I asked her did you read the cables from Ambassador Stevens, she acted as if she just didn't have time, she was too busy traveling the world and showing that she was a great traveling secretary of state. But there's a real problem when the ambassador is pleading for help and saying we're in danger of being overrun and you continue to reduce the security forces there. And I think it was worse than that. I think it's sort of this politically correct sort of thing where they didn't want people to have arms, they didn't want our people to wear their uniforms. They didn't want our people even to wear their military boots because that somehow would defend the sensibility of the Libyans. It just shows poor judgment I think that she was unable to really get beyond that to say, you know what, our first mission is actually to protect our people in the field." [Midpoint, Newsmax TV, 3/3/15]

Cover-Up And Continuing Investigation

Rand Paul: While The Administration Continued To Cover Up Benghazi, "I Will Continue To Seek The Truth Until Those At The Top Of This Two-Year Chain Of Deception Are Finally Held Accountable." "This new Benghazi 'intelligence' report [from the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence] is little more than a C.Y.A. attempt designed to protect incompetent politicians and government agents at the expense of justice for the victims of September 11, 2012. They will continue to cover up. I will continue to seek the truth until those at the top of this two-year chain of deception are finally held accountable." [Rand Paul Op-Ed, Breitbart, 12/1/14]

Miscellaneous

Rand Paul Said "Politics Is What Happens To Discuss Whether People Are Fit For Office," And Said There Would Be A Discussion About Whether Hillary Clinton Was "Fit To Lead." "Addressing criticism that his scrutiny of Benghazi is politically motivated, Paul said 'Yeah, politics is what happens to discuss whether people are fit for office. There will be a discussion over the next four years whether or not Hillary Clinton is fit to lead this country.'" [Politico, 8/29/14]

Rand Paul Blasted Hillary Clinton As Not "Fit To Lead The Country" For Her Response To Benghazi And Comments About Her Wealth. "Sen. Rand Paul, R-Ky., said Hillary Clinton is not 'fit to lead the country' Friday, mocking the former secretary of state's comments about her wealth and condemning her response to the September 2012 attack on a U.S. facility in Benghazi." [CBS, 8/2/14]

Rubio Said Clinton Would Have To "Answer For Benghazi" If She Ran For President. RUBIO: "I think she's going to have to answer for Benghazi. I know people want to push that aside, but here's a fact. The State Department knew that the risk level for that facility was extremely high. They should have either closed that facility or provided it adequate security. They did not, under her watch. She will have to answer for that." [Situation Room, CNN, 2/25/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

Secretary Clinton's Cooperation With Investigations

SECRETARY CLINTON TOOK RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATTACK IN BENGHAZI

Secretary Clinton: "I Take Responsibility" For The Consequences Of The Benghazi Attack. "Secretary of State Hillary Clinton on Monday tried to douse a political firestorm over the deadly assault on a U.S. diplomatic mission in Libya, saying she's responsible for the security of American diplomatic outposts. 'I take responsibility,' Clinton told CNN in an interview while on a visit to Peru. 'I'm in charge of the State Department's 60,000-plus people all over the world, 275 posts. The president and the vice president wouldn't be knowledgeable about specific decisions that are made by security professionals. They're the ones who weigh all of the threats and the risks and the needs and make a considered decision.'" [CNN, 10/16/12]

SECRETARY CLINTON TESTIFIED BEFORE TWO STATE DEPARTMENT COMMITTEES INVESTIGATING BENGHAZI IN 2013, AND HAS AGREED TO DO SO AGAIN...

Secretary Clinton Testified Before The House And Senate Committees Investigating Benghazi In 2013. "In what probably was her final major public appearance as secretary of state, Hillary Rodham Clinton spent Wednesday delivering a forceful defense of the Obama administration's response to the killings of four Americans in Libya last year and praising the commitment of the United States' diplomats. Clinton, who returned to work this month after suffering a concussion and blood clot in early December, spent six hours testifying and answering questions. She started at 9 a.m. before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ended after 5 p.m. with the House Foreign Affairs Committee." [Washington Post, 1/23/13]

<u>CNN</u>: Secretary Clinton "Has Agreed To Testify To The House's Select Committee Investigating Benghazi." "Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has agreed to testify to the House's select committee investigating Benghazi, the panel's Democratic ranking member told CNN on Tuesday. Rep. Elijah Cummings said that Clinton agreed to testify before the committee investigating the 2012 terrorist attack in December after he contacted her months earlier." [CNN, 1/28/15]

Secretary Clinton Answered More Than 200 Questions On The Record About Benghazi On The Record. "On September 18, 2014, one day after our Committee's first hearing, an entity known as Stop Hillary PAC delivered more than 264,000 signatures to the Select Committee insisting that you issue a subpoena to compel Secretary Clinton to testify, despite the fact that she had already testified before the House and Senate about Benghazi and answered more than 200 questions for the record." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]

...YET TREY GOWDY HAS DELAYED HER TESTIMONY FOR MONTHS

Secretary Clinton Agreed To Testify As Early As December 2014 But Trey Gowdy Delayed Her Appearance. "As a courtesy, the Ranking Member contacted Secretary Clinton, and she responded that she was willing to testify at a public hearing to answer the Select Committee's questions. She agreed without hesitation, and she offered to testify as early as December 2014. The Ranking Member personally communicated all of this information to you in October 2014. On November 12, 2014, in a joint phone call with both Republican and Democratic staff, Secretary Clinton's attorney again confirmed her cooperation and willingness to testify in a public hearing before the Committee as early as December. But instead of obtaining Secretary Clinton's testimony in December, you decided to delay her testimony, explaining that you first wanted to obtain all of her documents related to Benghazi." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]

Wasteful And Political GOP Investigations

MULTIPLE GOP-LED INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE BENGHAZI ATTACKS HAVE COST TAXPAYERS MILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND HAVE SOUGHT TO POLITICIZE THE TRAGEDY FOR THEIR OWN BENEFIT

The Pentagon Said The Multiple Investigations Into The Benghazi Attacks Cost Millions And Thousands Of Hours In Personnel Time. "The Pentagon says Congress' multiple investigations of the deadly 2012 attack on the U.S. diplomatic mission in Benghazi, Libya, have cost the department millions of dollars and thousands of hours of personnel time." [Huffington Post, 3/25/14]

- Assistant Secretary Of Defense Elizabeth King: The Six Investigations Into Benghazi Cost The Pentagon "Thousands Of Man-Hours" To Investigate "50 Congressional Hearings, Briefings, And Interviews." "The Department has devoted thousands of man-hours to responding to numerous and often repetitive congressional requests regarding Benghazi which includes time devoted to approximately 50 congressional hearings, briefings, and interviews which the Department has led or participated in." [Assistant Secretary Of Defense for Legislative Affairs Elizabeth King, Letter To Representative Adam Smith, 3/11/14]
- Assistant Secretary Of Defense Elizabeth King Estimated The Total Cost Of Benghazi Related Congressional Requests To Be In The Millions Of Dollars. "The total cost of compliance with Benghazi related congressional requests sent to the Department and other agencies is estimated to be in the millions of dollars." [Assistant Secretary Of Defense for Legislative Affairs Elizabeth King, Letter To Representative Adam Smith, 3/11/14]

In A May 2014 FOX News Poll, 63% Of Respondents, Including 38% Of Republicans, Said That They Thought Republicans In Congress Were Investigating Benghazi For Mostly For Political Gain. [FOX News, 5/14/14]

Lindsay Graham Consulted Lara Logan On The Now Discredited 60 Minutes Report On Benghazi. "What wasn't known at the time was that Graham had consulted with CBS correspondent Lara Logan on the now-discredited Benghazi report that led to her being sidelined from the network for over six months. The Oct. 27 report started unraveling four days after airing, following revelations that security contractor Dylan Davies, the '60 Minutes' eyewitness, had given conflicting stories about his whereabouts during the attack." [Huffington Post, 5/4/14]

HEADLINE: "Republicans Raising Money Off Benghazi Effort." [Washington Post, 5/10/13]

HEADLINE: "GOP Fundraises Off Benghazi Attack." [Salon, <u>5/14/13</u>]

The NRCC Used Benghazi To Raise Money. "The National Republican Congressional Committee is using the debate over Benghazi to raise money. On a new fundraising page, the committee asks for donations to keep up the fight, declaring it a 'coverup' and using pictures of President Obama and former secretary of state Hillary Clinton. The page implores supporters to 'demand answers.'" [Washington Post, 5/10/13]

• The NRCC Bragged That Their Benghazi Fundraising Page Gave Them The Most Trafficked Day In The History Of Their Website. "And it worked: the NRCC says its Clinton/Benghazi fundraising page made Friday the most trafficked day in the history of

its Web site, and the Crossroads video has been viewed more than 100,000 times since Friday." [Washington Post, 5/13/13]

Salon: The NRCC Sent A Second Fundraising Solicitation From John Bolton Asking For "\$5 To Support The NRCC In Their Goal To Hold The Administration Accountable For Benghazi." "Because no good scandal should go to waste, the National Republican Congressional Committee has enlisted John Bolton to turn the Benghazi attack into cash for Republican congressional campaigns. 'As an Under Secretary of State during the September 11, 2001, attacks, and later as Ambassador to the UN, I saw very closely what a terrorist event looks like,' Bolton wrote in an email solicitation sent to supporters this morning. 'What's happened with Benghazi is not how it's supposed to be handled and I think it could be a hinge point for the Obama administration.' Then came the ask: 'Will you give \$5 to support the NRCC in their goal to hold the administration accountable for Benghazi? Your \$5 will go a long way. Americans deserve an explanation — please help out,' Bolton wrote." [Salon, 5/14/13]

RNC: "Stand With @tgowdysc & Click To Demand @HillaryClinton Turn Over Her Secret Server." [@GOP, Twitter, 3/12/15]

Asked And Answered Questions

COMMITTEES INVESTIGATING THE STATE DEPARTMENT RESPONSE TO ATTACKS IN BENGHAZI CONTINUE TO ASK QUESTIONS THAT HAVE LONG SINCE BEEN ANSWERED

Boehner Said The Benghazi Select Committee Should Focus On "The Number Of Requests For More Security And Why It Was Not Provided." "You know, I think that there are probably three areas that the Committee will look at—the events leading up to 9/11, 2012, the requests—the number of requests for more security and why it was not provided..." [Fox News, 5/11/14]

The Independent Accountability Review Board Concluded That There Was Inadequate Security Due To Systemic "Failures And Leadership And Management Deficiencies At Senior Levels Within Two Bureaus Of The State Department." "The Independent Accountability Review Board concluded that the Special Mission in Benghazi had inadequate security because of '[s]ystemic failures and leadership and management deficiencies at senior levels within two bureaus of the State Department.' The Board found several factors that led to support gaps, including a misplaced reliance on local security forces, short-term staffing challenges, and the temporary nature of the facility. Multiple Congressional investigations have confirmed these findings.'" [House Select Committee On Benghazi Minority Website, accessed 9/16/14]

House Committee On Benghazi Minority Website Noted That A Number Of Investigations Have Already Answered The Question "Why Was Security In Benghazi Inadequate Despite Repeated Requests?." "Why was security in Benghazi inadequate despite repeated requests?... SOURCES THAT HAVE ANSWERED THIS QUESTION: The Independent Accountability Review Board Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee Bipartisan Report Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Bipartisan Report

House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform Democratic Staff Report Accountability Review Board Vice Chairman Admiral Michael Mullen Accountability Review Board Chairman Ambassador Thomas Pickering" [House Select Committee On Benghazi Minority Website, accessed 9/16/14]

Benghazi-Related Emails

THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS RELEASED SECRETARY CLINTON'S BENGHAZI-RELATED EMAILS TO THE HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE AND DESPITE HAVING HAD ACCESS TO THE EMAILS FOR MONTHS, TREY GOWDY HAS MADE FALSE STATEMENTS ABOUT THEM

Secretary Clinton Handed Over 55,000 Pages Of Emails To The State Department, Who Turned Over The Relevant Benghazi-Related Emails To The Select Committee. "You have long been aware that Secretary Clinton used a personal email account. She provided her emails—55,000 pages of them—to the State Department, which in turn provided to the Committee those relevant to Benghazi. You are also aware, as we are, having read the responsive emails, that they are consistent with the findings of the nonpartisan Accountability Review Board. And you are aware that Secretary Clinton and her counsel have cooperated with the Select Committee in every way they have been asked, including the Secretary's willingness to come back to Congress and testify yet again." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]

- 2/27/15: The State Department Confirmed That It Had Finished Production Of Secretary Clinton's Emails Related To Benghazi. "On February 27, 2015, during a meeting with Select Committee staff, State Department officials confirmed that they had completed their production of Secretary Clinton's emails relating to the Benghazi attacks. Based on your statements, the Committee's next steps should have been to hold a hearing with Secretary Clinton in March. Instead, this week, you rushed to issue a unilateral subpoena to Secretary Clinton with no debate, no vote, and no deliberation whatsoever by Committee Members." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]
- The State Department Reviewed The 55,000 Pages Of Emails From Secretary Clinton's Personal Account And Produced 850 Pages, Or 300 Emails, Related To Benghazi. "In fact, the Secretary had produced to the State Department 55,000 pages of emails from her personal account relating to a number of topics, including Benghazi. On February 13, 2015, the State Department reviewed those 55,000 pages and produced to the Select Committee Secretary Clinton's emails related to Benghazi from March 3, 2011, to December 21, 2012, which consisted of approximately 850 pages, or about 300 emails." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]

Trey Gowdy Argued That Secretary Clinton Had Multiple Personal Emails. "The House committee investigating the 2012 terrorist attacks in Benghazi will issue new requests to Hillary Clinton for emails from multiple personal accounts she used during her tenure as secretary of state. Chairman Trey Gowdy (R-S.C.) told reporters on Tuesday that lawyers for the Benghazi Committee would be issuing the new requests - which he didn't rule out could come in the form of subpoenas - to Clinton and her email providers in the coming weeks. 'It was not as if she had both an official and a private email account. She did not use personal email in addition to government email. She used personal email in lieu of government email,' Gowdy said. 'And she had more than one private email account.'" [Politico, 3/3/15]

- The State Department Disputed That Secretary Clinton Had Used Two Personal Emails. "The State Department has also refuted Gowdy's claim that Clinton was using two personal email addresses. 'There was just one email account,' State Department Marie Harf said Wednesday." [The Blaze, 3/4/15]
- Select Committee Democrats Explained Trey Gowdy Had Long Been Aware That Secretary Clinton Used A Personal Email Address. "You have long been aware that

Secretary Clinton used a personal email account. She provided her emails—55,000 pages of them—to the State Department, which in turn provided to the Committee those relevant to Benghazi. You are also aware, as we are, having read the responsive emails, that they are consistent with the findings of the nonpartisan Accountability Review Board. And you are aware that Secretary Clinton and her counsel have cooperated with the Select Committee in every way they have been asked, including the Secretary's willingness to come back to Congress and testify yet again." [Select Committee on Benghazi Democrats Letter to Trey Gowdy, 3/6/15]

Stand-Down Order

U.S. MILITARY OFFICERS DEBUNKED THE CLAIMTHAT A "STAND-DOWN ORDER" WAS ISSUED DURING THE BENGHAZI ATTACK

Associated Press: Military Officers Testified That There Were Was No "Stand-Down Order" That Prevented Them From Rescuing The Four Victims Of The Benghazi Attack. "Military officers testified that there was no 'stand-down order' that held back military assets that could have saved the U.S. ambassador and three other Americans killed at a diplomatic outpost and CIA annex in Benghazi, Libya. Their testimony undercut the contention of Republican lawmakers." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

Associated Press: The "Stand Down" Theory Focused On A Team That Was Prevented From Flying To Benghazi And Told To Remain In Tripoli. "The 'stand-down' theory centers on a Special Operations team - a detachment leader, a medic, a communications expert and a weapons operator with his foot in a cast - that was stopped from flying from Tripoli to Benghazi after the attacks of Sept. 11-12, 2012, had ended. Instead, it was instructed to help protect and care for those being evacuated from Benghazi and from the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

• The Order To Remain In Place In Tripoli Allowed A Special Operations Team To Protect Embassy Personnel And A Medic To Save The Life Of An Evacuee From Benghazi. "The 'stand-down' theory centers on a Special Operations team - a detachment leader, a medic, a communications expert and a weapons operator with his foot in a cast - that was stopped from flying from Tripoli to Benghazi after the attacks of Sept. 11-12, 2012, had ended. Instead, it was instructed to help protect and care for those being evacuated from Benghazi and from the U.S. Embassy in Tripoli. The senior military officer who issued the instruction to 'remain in place' and the detachment leader who received it said it was the right decision and has been widely mischaracterized. The order was to remain in Tripoli and protect some three dozen embassy personnel rather than fly to Benghazi some 600 miles away after all Americans there would have been evacuated. And the medic is credited with saving the life of an evacuee from the attacks." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

Military Officials Agreed That No Help Could Have Arrived In Benghazi In Time To Rescue The Victims. "Military officials differ on when that telephone conversation took place, but they agree that no help could have arrived in Benghazi in time. They put the call somewhere between 5:05 a.m. and 6:30 a.m. local time. It would take about 90 minutes to fly from Tripoli to Benghazi. The next U.S.-chartered plane to make the trip left at 6:49 a.m., meaning it could have arrived shortly before 9 a.m., nearly four hours after the second, 11-minute battle at the CIA facility ended at about 5:25 a.m." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

Rear Admiral Brian Losey, The Special Operations Commander For Africa At The Time Of The Benghazi Attacks, Argued That There Was No Order To Stand Down. "Beyond questions of timing, the testimony of Rear Adm. Brian Losey, who was then Special Operations commander for Africa, also challenged the idea the team had the capacity to

bolster security in Benghazi. Losey said there was 'never an order to stand down.' His instruction to the team 'was to remain in place and continue to provide security in Tripoli because of the uncertain environment.'" [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

- Losey Challenged What The Special Operations Team At The Focus Of The Stand Down Theory Could Have Done To Secure The Benghazi Compound. "Losey questioned what the four could have done to aid the situation in Benghazi, where American personnel were preparing to evacuate as soon as possible." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]
- Losey Noted That The Military Would Have Lost Its Command Operation In Tripoli If The Special Forces Team Had Left. "Losey questioned what the four could have done to aid the situation in Benghazi, where American personnel were preparing to evacuate as soon as possible. He said assigning the small team to defend a perimeter wouldn't have been appropriate and would have meant the military's losing its command operation in Tripoli 'for the benefit of four riflemen who weren't even riflemen.'"

 [Associated Press, 7/11/14]
- Losey Said That Only One Member Of The Special Operations Team Was A Rifleman And His Foot Was In A Cast. "Losey questioned what the four could have done to aid the situation in Benghazi, where American personnel were preparing to evacuate as soon as possible. He said assigning the small team to defend a perimeter wouldn't have been appropriate and would have meant the military's losing its command operation in Tripoli 'for the benefit of four riflemen who weren't even riflemen.' 'The guy's command and control, he's communications, medical,' Losey recounted. 'I've got one weapons guy with his foot in a cast. Didn't make a lot of sense.'" [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

The Commander Of The Special Operations Team At The Focus Of The Stand Down Theory Agreed That It Was The Right Decision To Stay In Tripoli. "The Special Operations detachment leader's name is omitted from the testimony transcript, but he previously has been identified as Lt. Col. S.E. Gibson. More than a year-and-a-half later, Gibson, who is now a colonel, agreed that staying in Tripoli was the best decision." [Associated Press, 7/11/14]

NOVEMBER 2012: INTELLIGENCE OFFICIALS NOTED THAT CIA OPERATIVES IN BENGHAZI MADE DECISIONS ON THE GROUND WITHOUT INTERFERENCE FROM WASHINGTON

November 2012: Senior Intelligence Official: "There Was No Second-Guessing Those Decisions Being Made On The Ground, By People At Every U.S. Organization That Could Play A Role In Assisting Those In Danger." [Washington Post, 11/1/12]

Intelligence Officials Said Washington Did Not Interfere With The Decisions CIA
 Operatives Who Were On The Ground Made During The Benghazi Attack.
 "Instead, U.S. intelligence officials insisted that CIA operatives in Benghazi and Tripoli
 made decisions rapidly throughout the assault with no interference from Washington."
 [Washington Post, 11/1/12]

September 2014: New York Times: "American Officials Have Previously Acknowledged That The Central Intelligence Agency Security Team Paused To Try To Enlist Support From Libyan Militia Allies." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

SEPTEMBER 2014: A SENIOR INTELLIGENCE OFFICIAL REITERATED THAT WASHINGTON DID NOT SECOND-GUESS THE DECISIONS CIA OPERATIVES IN BENGHAZI MADE ON THE GROUND

A Senior Intelligence Official Noted That There Was An Attempt To Secure Local Support To Defend The Diplomatic Compound And Argued That There Was No Second-Guessing Decisions Made On The Ground. "In an emailed statement on Thursday, a senior intelligence official said 'a prudent, fast attempt was made to rally local support for the rescue effort and secure heavier weapons." The official said 'there was no second-guessing those decisions being made on the ground' and 'there were no orders to anybody to stand down in providing support." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

REP. DUTCH RUPPERSBERGER ARGUED THAT THE HOUSE AND SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES FOUND NO EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT THE CLAIM OF A STAND DOWN ORDER

Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger Said The House And Senate Intelligence Committees Found No Evidence To Support The Claim Of A Stand Down Order. "Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger (D-Md.) said lawmakers never came across evidence indicating the station chief had told his team to 'stand down' and abort a rescue mission. 'After interviewing these individuals, including those writing the book, and all of the others on the ground that night, both Republicans and Democrats on the House Intelligence Committee and the Senate Intelligence Committee concluded that there was not, in fact, an order to stand down and no evidence was found to support such a claim,' he said." [The Hill, 9/5/14]

Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger Said Senior CIA Officials On The Ground In Benghazi Waited To Send The Security Team To Gather Intelligence And Avoid A Potential Ambush. "Contractors and other security officers told the House committee about 25 minutes passed between learning about the attack and the time the commandos departed for their rescue mission, the congressman said. 'The team said they were prepped and ready to go within minutes, but the senior CIA officers responsible for the welfare of all Annex personnel were concerned they might be sending their security team into an ambush so they tried to obtain better intelligence and heavy weapons before dispatching the team,' Ruppersberger added." [The Hill, 9/5/14]

Rep. Dutch Ruppersberger Noted That A Senior CIA Official Had Told The House Intelligence Committee That The Outcome Could Have Been Worse If The Security Team Acted Earlier. "The team said they were prepped and ready to go within minutes, but the senior CIA officers responsible for the welfare of all Annex personnel were concerned they might be sending their security team into an ambush so they tried to obtain better intelligence and heavy weapons before dispatching the team," Ruppersberger added. He noted that a high-ranking CIA official told the committee the outcome could have been much worse if the rescue team had tried to act sooner." [The Hill, 9/5/14]

THE SENATE INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEE FOUND NO EVIDENCE THAT THE CIA CHIEF OF BASE IN BENGHAZI GAVE A STAND DOWN ORDER

The Senate Intelligence Committee Found No Evidence That The Chief Of Base In Benghazi Intentionally Delayed Or Obstructed The Response To The Diplomatic Compound. "The Committee explored claims that there was a 'stand down' order given to the security team at the Annex. Although some members of the security team expressed frustration that they were unable to respond more quickly to the Mission compound, 12 the Committee found no evidence of intentional delay or obstruction by the Chief of Base or any other party." [Review of the Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Facilities in Benghazi, Libya, September 11-12, 2012, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 1/15/14]

THE SECURITY TEAM AT THE CIA ANNEX WAITED TO BUILD SUPPORT FROM LOCAL MILITIAS BEFORE MAKING THEIR WAY TO THE DIPLOMATIC COMPOUND

9/11/12: 9:40-10:03 PM: Before Departing For The Compound, The Security Team At The CIA Annex Attempted To Secure Support From The 17th February Brigade And Other Allied Militias. "During the period between approximately 9:40 p.m. and 10:03 p.m. Benghazi time, the Chief of Base and security team members attempted to secure assistance and heavy weapons (such as .50 caliber truck-mounted machine guns) from the 17th February Brigade and other militias that had been assisting the United States." [Review of the Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Facilities in Benghazi, Libya, September 11-12, 2012, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 1/15/14]

9/11/12: 10:03 PM: The Security Team At The CIA Annex In Benghazi Responded To The Attack On The Compound 20-25 Minutes After First Receiving Notification.

"Two armored vehicles were prepared so the security team could respond from the Annex. Approximately 20-25 minutes after the first call came into the Annex that the Temporary Mission Facility was under attack, a security team left the Annex for the Mission compound. In footage taken from the Annex's security cameras, the security team can be observed departing the CIA Annex at 10:03 p.m. Benghazi time." [Review of the Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Facilities in Benghazi, Libya, September 11-12, 2012, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 1/15/14]

When The Security Team Arrived At The Compound, The 17th February Brigade Refused To Provide Covering Fire For The Team Although Members Of The Militia Assisted The Team In Its Assault. "Outside the compound, the security team asked 17th February Brigade members to 'provide cover' for them to advance to the gate of the Temporary Mission Facility with gun trucks. The 17th February Brigade members refused, saying they preferred to negotiate with the attackers instead. Eventually, the security team initiated their plan of assault on the Mission compound. Some members of the 17th February Brigade 'jump[ed] into the vehicle' and 'a few 17 Feb members follow[ed] behind on foot to support the team,' according to the informal CIA notes provided to the Committee." [Review of the Terrorist Attacks on U.S. Facilities in Benghazi, Libya, September 11-12, 2012, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, 1/15/14]

THE CIA STATION CHIEF IN BENGHAZI MADE AN INDEPENDENT DECISION TO PAUSE THE RESCUE IN AN ATTEMPT TO GET HELP FROM LOCAL LIBYAN MILITIAS

September 2014: New York Times: "American Officials Have Previously Acknowledged That The Central Intelligence Agency Security Team Paused To Try To Enlist Support From Libyan Militia Allies." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

Security Team Members Said They Waited Twenty Minutes In Their Vehicles While The Compound Was Attacked. "In a new book scheduled for release next week and obtained by The New York Times, the commandos say they protested repeatedly as the base chief ordered them to wait in their vehicles, fully armed, for 20 minutes while the attack on the diplomatic mission was unfolding less than a mile away." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

The Security Team Claimed The Base Chief Prevented Them From Rescuing Ambassador Stevens In Time. "Five commandos guarding the C.I.A. base in Benghazi, Libya, in September 2012 say that the base chief stopped them from interceding in time to save the lives of Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens and an American technician during the attack on the diplomatic mission there." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

New York Times: The Security Team Members' Account Suggested That The CIA Station Chief Issued The "Stand Down" Orders On His Own. "The commandos' account — which fits with the publicly known facts and chronology — suggests that the base chief issued the 'stand down' orders on his own authority. He hoped to enlist local Libyan militiamen, and the commandos speculate that he hoped the Libyans could carry out the rescue alone to avoid exposing the C.I.A. base." [New York Times, 9/4/14]

BOKO HARAM

CONSERVATIVE ATTACK

THE RNC ATTACKED SECRETARY CLINTON FOR DECLINING TO DESIGNATE BOKO HARAM AS A FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION DURING HER TENURE

RNC: "As Head Of State, Clinton Could Have Boxed In Terrorist Group Boko Haram Before They Unleashed Their 'Chilling Brutality' On The Region." [RNC, 4/8/15]

RNC: "According To A Report In The Daily Beast, Clinton's State Department 'Fought Hard' Against Putting Boko Haram On The Foreign Terrorist Organization List, Which Officials Now Say 'May Have Hampered' The Ability To Confront The Group." [RNC, 4/8/15]

RNC On Terrorist Designation Of Boko Haram: "As One Former U.S. Senior Official Said, 'The One Thing [Clinton] Could Have Done, The One Tool She Had At Her Disposal, She Didn't Use. And Nobody Can Say She Wasn't Urged To Do It. It's Gross Hypocrisy.'" [RNC, 4/8/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

MORE THAN TWENTY AFRICAN STUDIES SCHOLARS WROTE TO SECRETARY
CLINTON IN MAY 2012 AND URGED THE STATE DEPARTMENT NOT TO DESIGNATE
BOKO HARAM AS A FOREIGN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION...

<u>Daily Beast</u>: "In 2012, More Than 20 Prominent U.S. Academics In African Studies Wrote To Clinton, Urging Her To Not To Label Bok Haram As A Foreign Terrorist Organization." [Daily Beast, 5/7/14]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "As Scholars With A Special Interest In Nigeria And Broad Expertise On African Politics, We Are Writing To Urge That You Not Designate Boko Haram A Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO)." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

...CLAIMING THAT SUCH A DESIGNATION WOULD EMBOLDEN BOKO HARAM AND LIMIT THE TOOLS THE STATE DEPARTMENT COULD USE AGAINST THEM

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "An FTO Designation Would Internationalize Boko Haram, Legitimize Abuses By Nigeria's Security Services, Limit The State Department's Latitude In Shaping A Long Term Strategy." "We are acutely aware of the horrific violence perpetrated by Boko Haram, including attacks on both Muslims and Christians in Nigeria, whether government officials or civilian targets. We share your concerns about the impact of extremist violence on Nigeria's democratic progress and security in general. However an FTO designation would internationalize Boko Haram, legitimize abuses by Nigeria's security services, limit the State Department's latitude in

shaping a long term strategy, and undermine the U.S. Government's ability to receive effective independent analysis from the region." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, $\frac{5/21/12}{1}$]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "An FTO Designation Would...Undermine The U.S. Government's Ability To Receive Effective Independent Analysis From The Region." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "An FTO Designation Would Potentially Shift [Boko Haram's] Posture Towards The US And...Undermine The Nigerian Government's Ability To Address The Problem Through Law Enforcement And Thereby Improve Rule Of Law." "An FTO designation would internationalize Boko Haram's standing and enhance its status among radical organizations elsewhere. Boko Haram's recent tactics, including the use of suicide bombers and improvised explosive devices, raise questions about their foreign links. The network's focus has been overwhelmingly domestic, despite an August 2011 attack on the United Nations office in Abuja. Rhetorically, some of Boko Haram's critique of northern underdevelopment and elite corruption is within the realm of mainstream political discourse. But there are clear indications that their tactics and targets have turned most Nigerians against them, including local populations in the north. An FTO designation would potentially shift the organization's posture towards the US and validate the more radical factions' analysis of outsider influence in Nigeria. It would also undermine the Nigerian government's ability to address the problem through law enforcement and thereby improve rule of law." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "An FTO Designation [Of Boko Haram] Would Give Disproportionate Attention To Counter-Terrorism In Our Bilateral Relations, And Increase The Risk That The US Becomes Linked...To Abuses By The [Nigerian] Security Services." "An FTO designation would give disproportionate attention to counter-terrorism in our bilateral relations, and increase the risk that the US becomes linked – whether in reality or perception – to abuses by the security services. An FTO designation would effectively endorse excessive use of force at a time when the rule of law in Nigeria hangs in the balance. There is already evidence that abuses by Nigeria's security services have facilitated radical recruitment. This was made unequivocally clear in 2009 following the extrajudicial murder of Mohammed Yusuf, which was broadcast across the internet. That incident was immediately followed by Boko Haram's radicalization, splintering, and increased propensity for large scale violence. Moreover, the routine use of the military for domestic law enforcement is a cause for alarm in a country with a deep history of military rule, and where formal declarations of states of emergency have historically led to broader political instability." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "Accurately Understanding And Properly Addressing The Issue Of Boko Haram Will Require A Diplomatic, Developmental, And Demilitarized Framework." "Accurately understanding and properly addressing the issue of Boko Haram will require a diplomatic, developmental, and demilitarized framework. The State Department and its civilian developmental partners must be in the lead." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "We Believe That An FTO Designation For Boko Haram Would Limit American Policy Options To Those Least Likely To Work, And Would Undermine The Domestic Political Conditions Necessary In Nigeria For An Enduring Solution." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

...AS WELL AS LIMIT THE WORK THAT COULD BE DONE BY NGOS TO MITIGATE THE TERRORIST GROUP'S BRUTALITY

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "If Economic Development Is To Play A Role In Alleviating Tensions In Northern Nigeria, We Should Not Hamper Access By USAID Or Private NGOs In Providing Aid And Assistance In The Region." "Once the State Department makes an FTO designation and that entity is added to the Specially Designated Nationals (SDN) list managed by the Treasury Department, it is illegal for U.S. citizens to have any interactions with that entity unless they apply for a license... Lack of information about the criteria for being listed makes it impossible to be removed and encourages selective enforcement. This cumbersome and arbitrary process has made it impossible for some humanitarian organizations to operate in the neediest areas of Africa. If economic development is to play a role in alleviating tensions in northern Nigeria, we should not hamper access by USAID or private NGOs in providing aid and assistance in the region." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "Should Boko Haram Be Designated An FTO Through This Regime, It Would Be Illegal For Nongovernmental Organizations To Interact With Members Of Boko Haram - Even If The Purpose Of Such Contact Was To Persuade Them To Renounce Violence." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

African Studies Scholars Letter To Secretary Clinton: "An FTO Designation Would Effectively Criminalize Broad Categories Of Research." "An FTO designation would prevent independent scholarly inquiry about Boko Haram, and increase suspicion in the future about researchers with no governmental ties. Public policy benefits from dialogue with public scholars, and an FTO designation would effectively criminalize broad categories of research." [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

THESE CLAIMS WERE ECHOED BY U.S. AND NIGERIAN OFFICIALS

Assistant Secretary Of State For African Affairs Carson: "There Was A Concern That Putting Boko Haram On The Foreign Terrorist List Would In Fact Raise Its Profile, Give It Greater Publicity, Give It Greater Credibility, Help In Its Recruitment...Drive More Assistance In Its Direction." "Inside the Clinton State Department, the most vocal official opposing designating Boko Haram was Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson, who served in that position from 2009 to 2013. Several officials said that the Nigerian government was opposed to the designation and Carson was focused on preserving the relationship between Washington and Abuja. Carson defended the decision to avoid naming Boko Haram a terrorist organization in a Wednesday phone call with reporters. 'There was a concern that putting Boko Haram on the foreign terrorist list would in fact raise its profile, give it greater publicity, give it greater credibility, help in its recruitment, and also probably drive more assistance in its direction,' he said." [Daily Beast, 5/7/14]

Nigerian Ambassador To The U.S. Adebowale Adefuye: "The Current Well-Intentioned Efforts By A Few Members Of Congress To Classify The Boko Haram As A Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) Actually Risk Deepening And Entrenching The Boko Haram Movement, Thereby Endangering More Lives." "Our government is working hard to defeat the motley band of criminals popularly known as Boko Haram, a group that is likely to try to capitalize on the recent wave of unrest. In order to effectively combat Boko Haram, we need American help to be complementary — not contradictory — to our own efforts. The current well-intentioned efforts by a few members of Congress to classify the Boko Haram as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) actually risk deepening and entrenching the Boko Haram movement, thereby endangering more lives." [Nigerian Ambassador Adefuye, The Hill, 9/20/12]

Nigerian Ambassador To The U.S. Adebowale Adefuye: An FTO Designation For Boko Haram Risked "Stymieing Desperately Needed Humanitarian And Commercial Activity." "Contrary to providing substantive tools for defeating Boko Haram, a FTO designation, with its implications on all financial flows, risks stymieing desperately needed humanitarian and commercial activity. Ironically, aid destined for northern Nigeria, where poverty and lack of opportunity creates fertile soil for Boko Haram's recruitment, is the most likely to be hindered. Dangerous opportunists would seek to fill this development vacuum and portray the U.S. effort as retaliation against Muslims in Nigeria's north." [Nigerian Ambassador Adefuye, The Hill, 9/20/12]

ONE OF THE SIGNERS OF THE LETTER TO SECRETARY CLINTON URGING AGAINST AN TERRORIST DESIGNATION OF BOKO HARAM WAS FORMER BUSH AMBASSADOR JOHN CAMPBELL

Council On Foreign Relations Scholar John Campbell Signed A Letter To Secretary Clinton Urging The State Department Not To Designate Boko Haram As A Foreign Terrorist Organization. [Letter To Secretary Clinton, 5/21/12]

Council On Foreign Relations Senior Fellow For Africa Policy Studies John Campbell Served As A Political Counselor In Nigeria Under George H.W. Bush And The Ambassador To Nigeria Under George W. Bush. "John Campbell is the Ralph Bunche senior fellow for Africa policy studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York. Rowman & Littlefield published his book, Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink. The second edition was published in June 2013. He writes the blog 'Africa in Transition' and edits the Nigeria Security Tracker. From 1975 to 2007, Ambassador Campbell served as a U.S. Department of State Foreign Service officer. He served twice in Nigeria, as political counselor from 1988 to 1990, and as ambassador from 2004 to 2007. Ambassador Campbell's additional overseas postings include Lyon, Paris, Geneva, and Pretoria. He also served as deputy assistant secretary for human resources, dean of the Foreign Service Institute's School of Language Studies, and director of the Office of UN Political Affairs." [Council on Foreign Relations, accessed 4/9/15]

OTHERS ARGUED THAT DESIGNATING BOKO HARAM A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION WOULD NOT HAVE MATERIALLY HELPED NIGERIAN SECURITY FORCES...

<u>Daily Beast</u>: "Had Clinton Designated Boko Haram As A Foreign Terrorist Organization, That Wouldn't Have Authorized Any Increased Assistance To The Nigerian Security Forces." "Had Clinton designated Boko Haram as a foreign terrorist organization, that wouldn't have authorized any increased assistance to the Nigerian security forces; such assistance is complicated by the Leahy Law, a provision that prevents the U.S. from giving weapons to foreign military and police units guilty of human rights violations." [Daily Beast, 5/7/14]

<u>Daily Beast</u>: "Despite The State Department's Refusal To Put Boko Haram On The Terrorism List, There Were Several Other Efforts To Work With The Nigerian Government On Countering The Extremist Group, Mainly Through Diplomatic And Military Intelligence Channels." "Not everyone agrees that Clinton's failure to act had significant negative effects. A former senior U.S. counterterrorism official told The Daily Beast that despite the State Department's refusal to put Boko Haram on the terrorism list, there were several other efforts to work with the Nigerian government on countering the extremist group, mainly through diplomatic and military intelligence channels. 'Designation is an important tool, it's not the only tool,' this official said. 'There are a lot of other things you can do in counterterrorism that doesn't require a designation.'" [Daily Beast, 5/7/14]

...AND THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS ABLE TO WORK AGAINST BOKO HARAM DESPITE THE LACK OF DESIGNATION

<u>Daily Beast</u>: "Three Boko Haram-Related Individuals Were Personally Sanctioned During Clinton's Time At State." "Not everyone agrees that Clinton's failure to act had significant negative effects. A former senior U.S. counterterrorism official told The Daily Beast that despite the State Department's refusal to put Boko Haram on the terrorism list, there were several other efforts to work with the Nigerian government on countering the extremist group, mainly through diplomatic and military intelligence channels...'The utility was limited, the symbolism was perhaps significant, but the more important issue was how we were dealing with the Nigerians,' this official said, noting that three Boko Haram-related individuals were personally sanctioned during Clinton's time at State." [Daily Beast, 5/7/14]

• State Department: Under Secretary Clinton, The State Department Designated As Global Terrorists "The Most Visible Leader" Of Boko Haram, As Well As Two Others Who "Have Ties To Boko Haram And Have Close Links To Al-Qa'ida In The Islamic Maghreb." "The Department of State designated Abubakar Shekau, Abubakar Adam Kambar, and Khalid al-Barnawi as Specially Designated Global Terrorists under section 1(b) of Executive Order 13224. Shekau is the most visible leader of the Nigeria-based militant group Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad, commonly referred to as Boko Haram. Khalid al-Barnawi and Abubakar Adam Kambar have ties to Boko Haram and have close links to al-Qa'ida in the Islamic Maghreb, a designated Foreign Terrorist Organization." [State Department, 6/21/12]

A FACT CHECKER ASSERTED THAT THE U.S. WORKED WITH NIGERIA ON COUNTERING BOKO HARAM AND THAT AN FTO DESIGNATION WOULD NOT HAVE STOPPED BOKO HARAM'S MASS KIDNAPPING

<u>Washington Post</u> Fact Checker: Discussions Between The U.S. And Nigeria Over Sanctioning Boko Haram "Was A Step-By-Step Diplomatic Process. It Was Made Clear That Formal Designation Of The Group Could Come Later." "In other words, it was a step-by-step diplomatic process. It was made clear that formal designation of the group could come later — and it did, the very next year. But in the meantime, the State Department hoped it could use the threat of designation — and the pressure from Congress — to induce better behavior by the Nigerian military and a more serious approach to the threat by the Nigerian government. By contrast, officials feared that going immediately to a designation would forfeit that potential leverage and upset the Nigerian government." [Fact Checker, Washington Post, 5/19/14]

<u>Washington Post</u> Fact Checker On Boko Haram: "There Is No Evidence That An FTO Designation Any Sooner Would Have Prevented The Kidnapping Of The Girls." "Given the facts at hand, it was not an unreasonable solution — and the process by which the decision was made was fair-minded and thorough. Officials on both sides of the debate argued their case, and, as is often the case, a compromise was reached. Moreover, there is no evidence that an FTO designation any sooner would have prevented the kidnapping of the girls." [Fact Checker, Washington Post, <u>5/19/14</u>]

RUSSIA

2016ER ATTACKS

2016ER REPUBLICANS HAVE CRITICIZED CLINTON OVER HER "RESET" POLICY WITH RUSSIA

Bobby Jindal Blamed The Obama White House And Former Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton For Fumbling Foreign Policy, Including "Russia's Incursion Into Crimea And Ukraine." "Otherwise, Jindal's remark were heavy on blaming the Obama White House, including former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, for fumbling foreign policy. 'Today, we see a world in which the Obama administration has neglected or abandoned America's long-standing allies. Our "special relationship" with Britain is gone, NATO is drifting, Eastern Europe is disaffected, and Israel has been purposefully alienated from the United States,' he said. He went on to say the last months has sparked the rise of ISIS, Russia's incursion into Crimea and Ukraine, and other flare-ups around the world." [The Post And Courier, 10/7/14]

Fiorina: "I Have Met Vladimir Putin And Know That It Will Take More To Halt His Ambitions Than A Gimmicky Red 'Reset' Button." [Conservative Political Action Conference, 2/26/15]

Jeb Bush's Prepared Remarks To The Chicago Council On Global Affairs Contained A "Veiled Allusion" To Hillary Clinton In Criticizing The US-Russian "Reset" She Spearheaded. "While the excerpts make no specific mention of Hillary Clinton, they contain a veiled allusion to the former secretary of state's 2009 attempt to re-establish relations between the United States and Russia. The so-called reset has become a focal point in Republican attacks against Clinton as she prepares for a potential 2016 run. 'With grandiosity, they announce resets and disengage,' Bush will say. 'Hashtag campaigns replace actual diplomacy and engagement. Personal diplomacy and maturity is replaced by leaks and personal disparagement.'" [CNN, 2/18/15]

Walker: Hillary Clinton Gave Russia A Reset Button. "The fervent Republicans who throng the Conservative Political Action Conference every year aren't representative of the American electorate ... Rubio and others skipped ahead to criticize former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, whom they excoriated as no different from Obama in foreign affairs. 'She actually gave a reset button to the Russians,' exclaimed Walker, to whoops from the audience. 'A reset button!'" [Los Angeles Times, 3/3/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

THE RUSSIA RESET WAS CONSIDERED BY SOME EXPERTS AND JOURNALISTS TO HAVE ACHIEVED ITS MAIN OBJECTIVES BY 2011

<u>Carnegie Endowment Report</u>: "Little More Than A Year On, The Reset Has Produced Some Impressive Concrete Outcomes." "Little more than a year on, the reset has produced some impressive concrete outcomes, ranging from a new strategic nuclear arms control agreement to cooperation on the transit of troops and equipment to Afghanistan to a united front on a new round of sanctions against Iran." [Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2010]

<u>Washington Post</u>: "The Reset In Relations" Between The U.S. And Russia "Has Brought The United States A Number Of Rewards." "Still, a serious rupture between the United States and Russia could have wide-reaching consequences. The reset in relations has brought the United States a number of rewards, including cooperation on fighting terrorism, permission to use Russian territory to supply troops in Afghanistan, agreement on the New START nuclear arms pact and cooperation on dealing with Iran." [Washington Post, 12/8/11]

December 2011: <u>Washington Post</u>: "The Obama Administration Has Shown Signs Of A Less Tolerant Approach To Russia, Suggesting It Had Met Its Reset Objectives And Was Preparing For A Testier Relationship." "The Obama

administration has shown signs of a less tolerant approach to Russia, suggesting it had met its reset objectives and was preparing for a testier relationship...At the end of October, Clinton's chief technology aide visited Russia to promote the benefits of a free Internet. Her assistant secretary for democracy and human rights met beleaguered activists, asking what kind of support the United States could provide." [Washington Post, 12/8/11]

UNDER SECRETARY CLINTON, THE U.S. AND RUSSIA NEGOTIATED A NEW ARMS REDUCTION TREATY WHICH WAS PRAISED FOR ITS IMPORTANCE AND SMOOTH IMPLEMENTATION AND APPROVED BY THE SENATE IN 2010

The Senate Voted To Allow Ratification Of The New START Treaty In December 2010 In A 71-26 Vote With 13 Republicans Voting In Favor. [Treaty Doc. 111-5, Vote 298, 111th Congress, 12/22/10]

Washington Post: The New START Treaty Aimed To Reduce The Stockpile Of Deployed, Strategic Nuclear Weapons In Both Countries" And Establish "New Procedures To Verify Which Weapons Each Country Possesses." "President Obama and Russian President Dmitry Medvedev signed a sweeping new arms reduction pact Thursday that pledges to reduce the stockpile of deployed, strategic nuclear weapons in both countries and commits the old Cold War adversaries to new procedures to verify which weapons each country possesses." [Washington Post, 4/8/10]

<u>Washington Post</u>: "Experts From The Right And The Left Agree The [New START] Treaty Extends A Verification Plan That Has Allowed The World's Two Nuclear Giants To Maintain Stability That Has Existed For The Past 20 Years." [Washington Post, 4/8/10]

<u>USA Today</u>: The New START Treaty Limited The U.S. And Russia Each To "1,550 Strategic Warheads, Down From 2,200." "A U.S.-Russia nuclear arms treaty that limits the number of atomic warheads the former Cold War foes can possess and allows them to inspect each other's arsenals — securing a key foreign policy goal of President Barack Obama— went into effect Saturday...New START, negotiated last year, limits each side to 1,550 strategic warheads, down from 2,200. It limits the number of deployed strategic launchers and heavy bombers to 700." [USA Today, 2/5/11]

Washington Post: Carnegie Endowment Nuclear Nonproliferation Scholar Said NATO Allies Strongly Supported New START And Thought "We Would Really Lose Credibility" If The U.S. Failed To Pass It. "The stakes were high: Defeat of the pact would have severely damaged Obama's global standing, hampering his ability to negotiate other treaties, and would have dealt a major setback to the president's 'reset' of relations with Russia. 'It's one of those things in life where failing to get it would be more important than actually what you get with it,' said George Perkovich, a scholar on nuclear nonproliferation at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Perkovich noted that Washington's NATO allies had strongly supported the pact. 'We would really lose credibility' if it failed, he said Tuesday." [Washington Post, 12/22/10]

<u>Washington Post</u>: New START Required The Votes Of Two-Thirds Of Senators Present To Allow President Obama To Proceed With Ratification. "The Senate ratified the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, known as New START, by a vote of 71 to 26, easily clearing the threshold of two-thirds of senators present as required by the Constitution for treaty ratification." [Washington Post, 12/22/10]

Steven Pifer Of The Brookings Institute Said Of The New START: "Implementation Appears To Be Going Smoothly...Russia Has Already Met These Limits" And "The Two Sides Have Carried Out More Than One Hundred Inspections And Exchanged

Almost 6,000 Treaty Notifications." "New START requires both countries to reduce arsenals to no more than 1,550 deployed strategic warheads on 700 deployed strategic missiles and bombers by February 2018. Implementation appears to be going smoothly. Russia has already met these limits, while U.S. strategic forces are moving towards them. The two sides have carried out more than one hundred inspections and exchanged almost 6,000 treaty notifications." [Steven Pifer, Fletcher Forum of World Affairs, 2/4/14]

UNDER SECRETARY CLINTON, THE U.S. SUCCESSFULLY NEGOTIATED TRANSPORT OF LETHAL MATERIEL THROUGH RUSSIA TO SUPPORT THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN

Congressional Research Service: "In February 2009, Russia Allowed A Resumption Of Shipment Of Non-Lethal Equipment Into Afghanistan Through Russia." And This Path "Played A Significant Role In Removing Much U.S. Equipment During The 2014 U.S. Drawdown." "Russia seeks to contain U.S. power in Central Asia and to prevent the infiltration of radical Islamists based in Afghanistan into Russia. In part acting on the latter interest, Russia cooperated in developing the Northern Distribution Network supply line to Afghanistan. In February 2009, Russia allowed a resumption of shipment of non-lethal equipment into Afghanistan through Russia. (Russia had suspended the shipments in 2008 over differences over the Russia-Georgia conflict.) About half of all ground cargo for U.S. forces in Afghanistan flowed through the Northern Distribution Network from 2011-2014, despite the extra costs as compared to the Pakistan route. The route played a significant role in removing much U.S. equipment during the 2014 U.S. drawdown." [Congressional Research Service, 2/24/15]

• <u>Defense News</u>: Pakistan Had Closed Its Border To The US, Which Forced Them To Rely On Northern Routes Of Transport, Including Through Russia, Even Though They Were Longer And More Expensive. "Pakistan has agreed to reopen its border to NATO supply convoys into Afghanistan after a seven-month blockade, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton said July 3, adding Washington was sorry for the loss of life in a botched U.S. air raid last year...The border blockade has forced the United States and its allies to rely on much longer, more expensive northern routes through Central Asia, Russia and the Caucasus. The cost of ferrying supplies by air and over northern railways and roads has cost the U.S. military about \$100 million a month, according to the Pentagon." [Defense News, 7/3/12]

Associated Press: Following Clinton's First Visit To Russia As Secretary Of State In October 2009, A Senior Official Confirmed An "Agreement That Allows U.S. Military Planes To Transport Lethal Materiel Over Russia To Afghanistan." "Clinton's visit to Moscow is her first since becoming Washington's top diplomat and since President Barack Obama, who visited Russia in July, vowed to 'reset' U.S.-Russia relations. The senior official traveling with Clinton said that there had been some improvements in cooperation, including a recent agreement that allows U.S. military planes to transport lethal materiel over Russia to Afghanistan." [Associated Press, 10/12/09]

SECRETARY CLINTON WAS AT TIMES AN OUTSPOKEN CRITIC OF RUSSIAN PRESIDENT PUTIN

<u>Washington Post</u>: Putin Blamed Secretary Clinton For Inciting Protests Against His Administration, Saying "She Set A Tone For Some Of Our Public Figures...They Heard This Signal And Launched Active Work With The U.S. State Department." "Putin lacerated Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton for questioning the validity of last Sunday's parliamentary elections and suggested that she had galvanized thousands of protesters by declaring the vote 'neither free nor fair.' 'She set the tone for some of our

public figures inside the country, sent a signal to them. They heard this signal and launched active work with the U.S. State Department's support,' he said." [Washington Post, 12/8/11]

Reuters: In A Speech To The Organization For Security And Cooperation In Europe, Secretary Clinton Called Russia's 2011 Parliamentary Elections "Neither Free Nor Fair." "When authorities fail to prosecute those who attack people for exercising their rights or exposing abuses, they subvert justice and undermine the people's confidence in their governments," Clinton said in a speech at the meeting of the 56-nation OSCE, Europe's biggest rights watchdog. 'As we have seen in many places, and most recently in the Duma elections in Russia, elections that are neither free nor fair have the same effect," she added, in comments that went a step further than her criticism of the vote on Monday." [Reuters, 12/6/11]

Los Angeles Times: Secretary Clinton Criticized The Conviction Of Russian Businessman Mikhail Khodorovsky, Saying It "Raises Serious Questions About... The Rule Of Law Being Overshadowed By Political Considerations." "'Today's conviction in the second trial of Mikhail Khodorkovsky and Platon Lebedev on charges of embezzlement and money laundering raises serious questions about selective prosecution -- and about the rule of law being overshadowed by political considerations,' Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton said in a statement. 'This and similar cases have a negative impact on Russia's reputation for fulfilling its international human rights obligations and improving its investment climate.'" [Los Angeles Times, 12/28/10]

<u>UNDER SECRETARY CLINTON, THE U.S. SECURED RUSSIAN COOPERATION ON IRAN</u> SANCTIONS

Secretary Clinton Announced In May 2010 That China And Russia Had Agreed To Back Sanctions Against Iran Over Its Nuclear Program. "The United States is to begin circulating today at the United Nations in New York a new resolution of sanctions on Iran over its nuclear program and continued enrichment of uranium. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton's surprise announcement during Senate testimony Tuesday morning – and her elaboration that both Russia and China are on board in supporting the new resolution – is seen in part as a Big Powers' response to a deal struck with Iran Monday by Brazil and Turkey to move a portion of Iran's enriched uranium stockpile out of the country." [Christian Science Monitor, 5/18/10]

The U.N. Security Council Imposed Sanctions On Iran In June 2010 With The Support Of China And Russia. "After several months of grueling diplomacy, the U.N. Security Council on Wednesday imposed a fourth round of sanctions on Iran's military establishment -- a move that the United States and other major powers said should prompt the Islamic Republic to restart stalled political talks over the future of its nuclear program... The administration did succeed in preserving support from China and Russia, although only after assuring them that the measures would not impair their ability to continue trading with Tehran." [Washington Post, 6/10/10]

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS ADVOCATED FOR A RAMPED UP U.S. RESPONSE TO THE RUSSIAN INCURSION INTO CRIMEA, INCLUDING ARMING UKRAINIAN TROOPS

Secretary Clinton: "I Think We Should Be Putting More Financial Support Into The Ukrainian Government...Make It Very Clear That The Money Comes With Certain Strings And That In The Absence Of Accountability, The Money Won't Come." "I think we should be putting more financial support into the Ukrainian government...I think we're smart enough to figure out how we would hold them accountable for that and to make it very clear that the money comes with certain strings and that in the absence of accountability, the money won't come." [Politico, 1/21/15]

Secretary Clinton: "I Do Think We Should Do More To Help Ukraine Defend Its Borders...New Equipment, New Training For The Ukrainians." "I do think we should do more to help Ukraine defend its borders...New equipment, new training for the Ukrainians. The United States plus NATO have been very reluctant to do that, and I understand it completely because it's a very sticky, potentially dangerous, situation. But I think the Ukrainian army and the Ukrainian civilians who've been fighting against the separatists have proven that they're worthy of some greater support." [Politico, 1/21/15]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

Lindsey Graham Voted Against Allowing New START Treaty Ratification.

[Treaty Doc. 111-5, Vote 298, 111th Congress, <u>12/22/10</u>]

SYRIA

2016ER ATTACKS

RUBIO INSISTED THAT DESPITE CLINTON'S CLAIMS SHE ADVOCATED FOR ARMING SYRIAN REBELS AS SECRETARY OF STATE, SHE WAS "COMPLICIT IN IMPLEMENTING AND PUBLICLY DEFENDING THE PRESIDENT'S DISASTROUS FOREIGN POLICIES."

Rubio Said He Urged Obama And Secretary Clinton In 2011 To "Intervene Decisively To Oust Assad And To Identify And Arm The Moderate Syrian Opposition." "The truth is that, when the Syrian people rose up in 2011 in protest against Bashar al-Assad's brutal rule, our vital national interest was to prevent a protracted civil war in which radical jihadists from all over the world could rush into a vacuum. If they could seize operational spaces, they could use them to plan and carry out attacks against our allies and ultimately America. In the early stages of this conflict, responsible, bipartisan voices called for U.S. leadership, hoping precisely to prevent the outcome we have now seen play out. I urged Secretary Clinton and President Obama to intervene decisively to oust Assad and to identify and arm the moderate Syrian opposition. Instead, we were told that Assad was a 'reformer' and that we should not get involved." [Marco Rubio, Washington Post, 9/12/14]

Rubio Attacked Hillary Clinton For Saying She Privately Advocated For A Different Syria Position Than What Obama Pursued: "She And Other Administration Officials Who Found Their Voices Only After They Left Office Were Complicit In Implementing And Publicly Defending The President's Disastrous Foreign Policies." "Some former Obama administration officials, notably Secretary Clinton, have tried to argue that they advocated internally for a different approach, that they saw the train wreck coming. But the fact of the matter is that when they were in positions of responsibility, they failed to prevent the situation that now exists. 'What are we going to arm them with and against what?' Secretary Clinton said of the Syrian opposition in 2012. She and other administration officials who found their voices only after they left office were complicit in implementing and publicly defending the president's disastrous foreign policies — and we'll be dealing with the consequences for decades to come." [Marco Rubio, Washington Post, 9/12/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS TOUGH AND INFLUENTIAL VOICE IN INTERNAL OBAMA ADMINISTRATION DEBATES WHILE SHE WAS SECRETARY OF STATE

<u>Wall Street Journal</u>'s William Galston: As Secretary Of State, "Mrs. Clinton Was Among The Administration's Toughest Voices During Internal Debates." "The only significant difference between Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in 2008 was her vote for the Iraq war, which probably cost her the presidential nomination. Little has changed. During her tenure as secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton was among the administration's toughest voices during internal debates. She supported the use of American air power in Libya, and the Navy SEAL raid that killed Osama bin Laden. (Both Vice President Joe Biden and Defense Secretary Robert Gates opposed it.)" [William Galston, Wall Street Journal, 7/23/14]

SECRETARY CLINTON'S MEMOIR DESCRIBES HER SUPPORT FOR A PLAN TO VET AND ARM MODERATE SYRIAN REBELS...

Hard Choices: "If The United States Could Train And Equip A Reliable And Effective Moderate Rebel Force, It Could Help Hold The Country Together During A Transition, Safeguard Chemical Weapons Stockpiles, And Prevent Ethnic Cleansing And Score Settling." "One of the prime worries about Syria—and one of the reasons it was a wicked problem—was the lack of any viable alternatives to Assad on the ground. He and his allies could plausibly argue, like Louis XV of France, 'Après moi, le déluge.' (After Assad, chaos.) The power vacuum in Iraq after the fall of Saddam and the disbanding of the Iraqi Army offered a cautionary tale. But if the United States could train and equip a reliable and effective moderate rebel force, it could help hold the country together during a transition, safeguard chemical weapons stockpiles, and prevent ethnic cleansing and score settling. But could it be done? The key would be thoroughly vetting the rebel fighters to ensure we first weeded out the extremists and then maintained close intelligence sharing and operational coordination with all our partners." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

Hard Choices: The Key To Effectively Arming Syrian Rebels "Would Be Thoroughly Vetting The Rebel Fighters To Ensure We First Weeded Out The Extremists And Then Maintained Close Intelligence Sharing And Operational Coordination With All Our Partners." "One of the prime worries about Syria—and one of the reasons it was a wicked problem—was the lack of any viable alternatives to Assad on the ground. He and his allies could plausibly argue, like Louis XV of France, 'Après moi, le déluge.' (After Assad, chaos.) The power vacuum in Iraq after the fall of Saddam and the disbanding of the Iraqi Army offered a cautionary tale. But if the United States could train and equip a reliable and effective moderate rebel force, it could help hold the country together during a transition, safeguard chemical weapons stockpiles, and prevent ethnic cleansing and score settling. But could it be done? The key would be thoroughly vetting the rebel fighters to ensure we first weeded out the extremists and then maintained close intelligence sharing and operational coordination with all our partners." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

...AND HER WORK WITH FOREIGN LEADERS TO ENSURE AN EFFORT TO ARM MODERATE SYRIAN REBELS COULD BE COORDINATED WITH REGIONAL PARTNERS

<u>Hard Choices</u>: In Coordinating Syria Efforts, Secretary Clinton Worked With Leaders Of Turkey, Great Britain, France, And Germany To Address Questions Such As "What Would It Take To Impose A No-Fly Zone?...Could We Better Coordinate Support For The Armed Opposition?" "Although there had been continuous consultations between us and the Turks since the [Syria] conflict started, I thought we should intensify operational planning by our militaries in order to prepare contingency plans. What would it take to impose a no-fly zone? How would we respond to the use or loss of

chemical weapons? How could we better coordinate support for the armed opposition? The Turks agreed, and two days later Davutoğlu and I got on the phone to discuss our thinking with the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, and Germany." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

<u>Hard Choices</u>: Secretary Clinton Pushed "To Begin Arming And Training Moderate Syrian Rebels...[Confident] We Could Put In Place Effective Coordination With Our Regional Partners." "Our military's top brass, reluctant to get involved in Syria, consistently offered dire projections of the forces that would be required to overcome Assad's advanced air defenses and conduct a Libya-style no-fly zone. But Secretary of Defense Panetta had become as frustrated as I was with the lack of options in Syria; he knew from his own time leading the CIA what our intelligence operatives could do...I returned to Washington reasonably confident that if we decided to begin arming and training moderate Syrian rebels, we could put in place effective coordination with our regional partners." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

INTERNAL DISAGREEMENTS OVER U.S. SYRIA POLICY DID NOT BECOME PUBLIC UNTIL FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY LEON PANETTA AND JOINT CHIEFS CHAIRMAN MARTIN DEMPSEY TOLD CONGRESS THEY SUPPORTED A CLINTON-BACKED PLAN TO ARM MODERATE SYRIAN REBELS

New York Times: In February 2013, Then-Defense Secretary Panetta And Chairman Of The Joint Chiefs Of Staff Dempsey For The First Time Acknowledged Support For A 2012 "Plan To Arm Carefully Vetted Syrian Rebels...Backed By Hillary Rodham Clinton." "[O]n Thursday, deep divisions over what to do about one of those issues — the rising violence in Syria — spilled into public view for the first time in a blunt exchange between Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, and the leaders of the Pentagon. Testifying before the Senate Armed Services Committee, Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta acknowledged that he and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Martin E. Dempsey, had supported a plan last year to arm carefully vetted Syrian rebels. But it was ultimately vetoed by the White House, Mr. Panetta said, although it was developed by David H. Petraeus, the C.I.A. director at the time, and backed by Hillary Rodham Clinton, then the secretary of state." [New York Times, 2/7/13]

SECRETARY CLINTON CLAIMS TO HAVE RECOMMENDED U.S. AMBASSADOR TO SYRIA ROBERT FORD, WHO PUSHED FOR A PLAN TO ARM MODERATE SYRIAN REBELS

Secretary Clinton: "In Early 2010...! Recommended That The President Nominate Robert Ford...As The First U.S. Ambassador To Syria In More Than Five Years." "In early 2010, about a year before the maelstrom began in Syria, I recommended that the President nominate Robert Ford, an experienced diplomat who had served across the Middle East, most recently in Iraq, as the first U.S. Ambassador to Syria in more than five years." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

McClatchy: Syrian Ambassador Robert Ford Spent Years "Agitating From Within A Reluctant Administration To Arm Vetted Moderates To Fight Bashar Assad's Brutal Regime," But Ultimately Changed His Mind After Becoming "Increasingly Critical Of [Syrian Rebels] As Disjointed And Untrustworthy." "Robert Ford was always one of the Syrian rebels' loudest cheerleaders in Washington, agitating from within a reluctant administration to arm vetted moderates to fight Bashar Assad's brutal regime. In recent weeks, however, Ford, the former U.S. ambassador to Syria who made news when he left government service a year ago with an angry critique of Obama administration policy, has dropped his call to provide weapons to the rebels. Instead, he's become increasingly critical

of them as disjointed and untrustworthy because they collaborate with jihadists." [McClatchy, 2/18/15]

U.S. Ambassador To Syria Robert Ford On Secretary Clinton's Push To Arm Rebels: "Clinton Understood That The Guys With The Guns Mattered...That It Would Have Regional Implications, And That It Could Become One Large Operating Area For Al Qaeda." "For Clinton personally, the engagement of the armed groups was crucial and the White House's forced policy of pretending that the best way to support the revolution was through the civilian opposition based in Turkey was foolish. 'Clinton understood that the guys with the guns mattered, not the people in Istanbul, that it would have regional implications, and that it could become one large operating area for al Qaeda,' said Ford. 'In 2012 and the start of 2013 the most we could do was to provide help to the civilian opposition. We had no permission from the White House to help the FSA, so we did not do so.'" [Daily Beast, 8/14/14]

SECRETARY CLINTON CITED THE U.S. FAILURE TO BOLSTER ARMED REBELS IN SYRIA AS A REASON FOR THE GROWING POWER OF JIHADISTS IN SYRIA

Secretary Clinton: "The Failure To Help Build Up A Credible Fighting Force" Among The Syrian Opposition "Left A Big Vacuum, Which The Jihadists Have Now Filled." "I know that the failure to help build up a credible fighting force of the people who were the originators of the protests against Assad—there were Islamists, there were secularists, there was everything in the middle—the failure to do that left a big vacuum, which the jihadists have now filled. They were often armed in an indiscriminate way by other forces and we had no skin in the game that really enabled us to prevent this indiscriminate arming." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

JOHN MCCAIN HAS REPEATEDLY ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRESIDENT OBAMA DECIDED NOT TO ARM SYRIAN REBELS DESPITE SECRETARY CLINTON'S PUSH TO DO SO

John McCain On The Syrian Opposition: President Obama's "Entire National Security Team, Including His Secretary Of State, Said We Want To Arm And Train And Equip These People, And He Made The Unilateral Decision To Turn Them Down." "MCCAIN:...I'm astounded that Mr. Carney should say that the Free Syrian Army is now stronger. In fact, they have been badly damaged, CARNEY: That's not what I said. Senator. I said, if I could, sir, what I said is that we know a great deal more about the makeup of the opposition. MCCAIN: Oh, come on, you knew about it -- come on, Jay, we knew all about them then. You just didn't choose to know. I was there in Syria. We knew them. Come on, you guys are the ones -- it's your boss is the one that when the entire national security team wanted to arm and train them, that he turned them down...facts are stubborn things, Mr. Carney. And that is, his entire national security team, including his secretary of state, said we want to arm and train and equip these people, and he made the unilateral decision to turn them down. And the fact that they didn't leave a residual force in Iraq, overruling all of his military advisers, is the reason why we're facing ISIS today. So the facts are stubborn things in history. And people ought to know them. And now the president is saying basically that we are going to take certain actions, which I would favor. But to say that America is safer, and that the situation is very much like Yemen and Somalia shows me that the president really doesn't have a grasp for how serious the threat of ISIS is." [CNN, 9/10/14]

John McCain: President Obama "Overruled The Senior Leaders Of His Own National Security Team, Who Were In Unanimous Agreement That America Needs To Take Greater Action To Change The Military Balance Of Power In Syria." "Mr. McCain said he was dismayed that Mr. Obama had 'overruled the senior leaders of his own

national security team, who were in unanimous agreement that America needs to take greater action to change the military balance of power in Syria.'" [New York Times, $\frac{2}{7}$ [13]

WASHINGTON POST'S DAN BALZ CLAIMED THAT SECRETARY CLINTON SHOULD NOT HAVE BEEN EXPECTED TO PUBLICLY STATE DISAGREEMENT WITH OBAMA'S SYRIA POLICY BECAUSE DOING SO MAY HAVE MADE HER "APPEAR DISLOYAL"

Washington Post's Dan Balz: "[A]s A Former Member Of The Administration, Clinton Is Not Exactly A Free Agent...If She Thinks The Administration Should Have Taken A More Aggressive Posture Earlier, She Is Likely To Be Restrained From Saying So, Lest She Appear Disloyal." [Dan Balz, Washington Post, 9/4/13]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

RICK PERRY HAD LIMITED PRAISE FOR SECRETARY CLINTON'S ASSESSMENT OF THE RIGHT COURSE OF ACTION IN SYRIA

Rick Perry On Early Intervention In Syria: "I Think On That Issue [Secretary Clinton] Was Closer To Being Right Than She Has Been On Some Other Ones." In an article about Texas Governor Rick Perry's statements on foreign policy in a speech in Iowa, U.S. News and World Report reported: "Asked Tuesday at the Iowa State Fair whether he agreed with the former secretary of state's assessment that a lack of prior U.S. intervention in Syria emboldened jihadists to penetrate Iraq, the GOP governor of Texas found some daylight with the potential future presidential rival. 'I think on that issue she was closer to being right than she has been on some other ones,' he replied." [U.S. News and World Report, 8/12/14]

ISIL

2016ER ATTACKS

RAND PAUL CLAIMED SECRETARY CLINTON SAID "ISIS IS NOT A THREAT...TO AMERICA"

Rand Paul: Hillary Clinton Said "ISIS Is Not A Threat - Not A Threat To America. Those I Think Were Her Exact Words." RAND PAUL: "Well you know, I don't think we really want a commander-in-chief who is battling climate change instead of terrorism. She also has been out there saying ISIS is not a threat - not a threat to America. Those I think were her exact words." BILL HEMMER: "Did she say that?" RAND PAUL: "I believe a couple of months ago there was a quote from her saying ISIS is not a threat to America. But what I would say is that for her to be out there saying that the biggest threat to our safety and our wellbeing is climate change, I think is -- goes to the heart of the matter whether she has the wisdom to lead the country, which I think it's obvious she doesn't." [America's Newsroom, Fox News, 9/5/14]

BOBBY JINDAL BLAMED SECRETARY CLINTON FOR ALLOWING THE RISE OF ISIL AS PART OF THE OBAMA ADMINISTRATION

Bobby Jindal Blamed The Obama White House And Former Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton For Fumbling Foreign Policy, Including "The Rise Of ISIS." "Otherwise, Jindal's remark were heavy on blaming the Obama White House, including former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, for fumbling foreign policy. 'Today, we see a world in which the Obama administration has neglected or abandoned America's long-standing allies. Our "special relationship" with Britain is gone, NATO is drifting, Eastern Europe is

disaffected, and Israel has been purposefully alienated from the United States,' he said. He went on to say the last months has sparked the rise of ISIS, Russia's incursion into Crimea and Ukraine, and other flare-ups around the world." [The Post And Courier, 10/7/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON HAD RECOGNIZED THAT ISIS WAS A REGIONAL THREAT, BUT SAID SHE COULD NOT HAVE PREDICTED THE SUCCESS OF ISIS IN TAKING OVER PORTIONS OF IRAQ

Clinton Said She Thought ISIS Was A "Regional Problem" As Opposed To "Just A Syrian Problem," But Never Could Not Have Predicted The Rise Of ISIS And Its Efficacy "In Seizing Cities In Iraq And Trying To Erase Boundaries To Create An Islamic State." "'So this is not just a Syrian problem anymore,' Clinton said. 'I never thought it was just a Syrian problem. I thought it was a regional problem. I could not have predicted, however, the extent to which ISIS could be effective in seizing cities in Iraq and trying to erase boundaries to create an Islamic state. That's why it's a wicked problem.'" [Daily Caller, 6/12/14]

JUNE 2014: SECRETARY CLINTON JOINED OBAMA IN RULING OUT AIRSTRIKES AGAINST ISIL, CITING THE LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS OF IRAQI PRIME MINISTER MALIKI

<u>CNN</u>: June 2014: "Hillary Clinton Has Firmly Planted Herself With The White House And Those Who Say The United States Should Not Provide Military Assistance - Particularly Airstrikes - To The Iraqi Government" To Fight ISIL. "Hillary Clinton has firmly planted herself with the White House and those who say the United States should not provide military assistance - particularly airstrikes - to the Iraqi government in response to the rise of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria and other militants." [CNN, 6/13/14]

<u>CNN</u>: In June 2014, Secretary Clinton Said About Airstrikes In Iraq: "That Is Not A Role For The United States," Citing Insufficient Commitment To "An Inclusive Iraq" From Prime Minister Maliki. "Earlier on Friday, the BBC released a 20-minute interview with Clinton, where the former secretary of state said airstrikes in Iraq were not appropriate 'at this time.' 'That is not a role for the United States,' Clinton said. 'There needs to be a number of steps that Maliki and his government must take to demonstrate that he is committed to an inclusive Iraq – something he has not done up to date.'" [CNN, 6/13/14]

<u>CNN</u>: Clinton Called Iraqi Prime Minister Maliki's Government "Dysfunctional, Unrepresentative, Authoritarian...There's No Reason On Earth That I Know Of That We Would Ever Sacrifice A Single American Life For That." "Clinton characterized the Maliki government as 'dysfunctional, unrepresentative, authoritarian' in front of an audience of 1,500 in Washington. For that reason, she added – to sustained applause – that 'there's no reason on earth that I know of that we would ever sacrifice a single American life for that." [CNN, 6/13/14]

AUGUST 2014: SECRETARY CLINTON ASSERTED THAT FAILURE TO FOLLOW HER RECOMMENDATIONS AND MORE AGGRESSIVELY TRAIN AND EQUIP SYRIAN REBELS LEFT AN OPENING FOR ISIL'S RISE

Secretary Clinton: "The Failure To Help Build Up A Credible Fighting Force" Among The Syrian Opposition "Left A Big Vacuum, Which The Jihadists Have Now Filled." "I know that the failure to help build up a credible fighting force of the people who were the originators of the protests against Assad—there were Islamists, there were secularists, there was everything in the middle—the failure to do that left a big vacuum,

which the jihadists have now filled. They were often armed in an indiscriminate way by other forces and we had no skin in the game that really enabled us to prevent this indiscriminate arming." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

HEADLINE: "Hillary Clinton Joins Critics Of Obama's Response To ISIS In Iraq."
 [Christian Science Monitor, 8/10/14]

OCTOBER 2014: SECRETARY CLINTON "DESCRIBED THE SERIOUS THREAT POSED BY ISLAMIC STATE," SAYING MILITARY ACTION WAS ESSENTIAL BUT NOT SUFFICIENT IN DEFEATING ISIL

<u>Wall Street Journal</u>: "Former Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton Described The Serious Threat Posed By Islamic State." "Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described the serious threat posed by Islamic State in remarks here Wednesday, saying the group is far more advanced and well-funded than al Qaeda ever was. 'This is the best funded, most professional, expansionist Jihadist military force that we have seen ever,' she said." [Wall Street Journal, 10/8/14]

Secretary Clinton: ISIL Is "The Best Funded, Most Professional, Expansionist Jihadist Military Force That We Have Seen Ever." "Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton described the serious threat posed by Islamic State in remarks here Wednesday, saying the group is far more advanced and well-funded than al Qaeda ever was. 'This is the best funded, most professional, expansionist Jihadist military force that we have seen ever,' she said." [Wall Street Journal, 10/8/14]

<u>CBC News</u>: Secretary Clinton Called Military Action Against ISIL "Critical... Essential To Try To Prevent Their Further Advance...[But] Military Action Alone Is Not Sufficient." "Hillary Clinton, the former U.S. secretary of state, says military action is 'critical' to the U.S.-led fight against Islamic State militants in Iraq and Syria, but is 'not sufficient' on its own. 'I think military action is critical. In fact, I would say essential to try to prevent their further advance and their holding of more territory,' Clinton told an audience at the Canada 2020 conference in Ottawa...'Military action alone is not sufficient,' Clinton quickly added, describing the fight against Islamic jihadists as 'a long-term commitment.'" [CBC News, 10/6/14]

FEBRUARY 2015: SECRETARY CLINTON BACKED PRESIDENT OBAMA'S STRATEGY OF USING AIR STRIKES AND REGIONAL SOLDIERS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST ISIL

Politico: Secretary Clinton "Essentially Backed The President's Strategy" Against ISIL, Saying "You Have To Use, Not Only Air Force But Also Army Soldiers From The Region...A Lot Of The Right Moves Are Being Made." "On the effort against ISIL, Clinton suggested during the Q&A with journalist Kara Swisher that there was little use in inserting U.S. combat troops into the fight and essentially backed the president's strategy so far. 'It's a very hard challenge, because you can't very well put American or Western troops in to fight this organism,' she said, in her clearest statement yet on the topic. 'You have to use, not only air force but also army soldiers from the region and particularly from Iraq. ... A lot of the right moves are being made, but this is a really complicated and long-term problem.'" [Politico, 2/24/15]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

RAND PAUL'S AIDE HAD TO WALK BACK FALSE COMMENTS HE MADE ABOUT SECRETARY CLINTON ASSERTING THAT ISIL WAS NOT A THREAT TO AMERICA

An Aide To Rand Paul Walked Back His Comments And Said Paul Meant To Criticize Hillary Clinton For Her Comments On The Prisoner Swap For U.S. Soldier Bowe Bergdahl, Not That She Underestimated The Threat Of ISIS. "An aide to Republican Senator Rand Paul said the lawmaker intended to criticize Hillary Clinton, a possible 2016 Democratic rival for the presidency, for comments on the prisoner swap for U.S. soldier Bowe Bergdahl, not that she underestimated the threat posed by Islamic State. 'Hillary Clinton has said ISIS is not a threat to the United States,' Paul said on Fox News Channel's 'Hannity' on Sept. 3. The Kentucky lawmaker repeated that assertion to Fox's Bill Hemmer two days later, noting his belief that those were Clinton's 'exact words.'...An aide to Paul who requested anonymity said the lawmaker meant to refer to Clinton's remark in June that the five Taliban fighters exchanged for Bergdahl were 'not a threat' to the U.S." [Bloomberg, 9/9/14]

ISRAEL

2016ER ATTACKS

REPUBLICANS ACCUSED SECRETARY CLINTON OF NEGLECTING U.S. ALLIES LIKE ISRAEL, DAMAGING THE U.S.-ISRAEL RELATIONSHIP, AND MISUNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEMS POSED BY GAZA

Bobby Jindal Attacked The Obama Administration And Hillary Clinton For Neglecting And Abandoning Our Allies. "Otherwise, Jindal's remark were heavy on blaming the Obama White House, including former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, for fumbling foreign policy. 'Today, we see a world in which the Obama administration has neglected or abandoned America's long-standing allies. Our 'special relationship' with Britain is gone, NATO is drifting, Eastern Europe is disaffected, and Israel has been purposefully alienated from the United States,' he said. He went on to say the last months has sparked the rise of ISIS, Russia's incursion into Crimea and Ukraine, and other flare-ups around the world." [The Post And Courier, 10/7/14]

Jindal: "The Worst Legacy Of Obama & Hillary Clinton Is The Intentional Damage They Caused To Our Relationship With Israel And The Coddling Of Iran." [@BobbyJindal, Twitter, 3/3/15]

Ted Cruz: "Hillary Clinton Seems To Fundamentally Misunderstand The Problem" In Gaza. In a statement posted to his official Facebook page, Senator Ted Cruz wrote: "Hillary Clinton seems to fundamentally misunderstand the problem. Hamas doesn't put rockets in schools, mosques, hospitals, and homes because 'Gaza is pretty small.' Hamas does so--and tells civilians to stay there, when the rockets are about to be taken outbecause they want to use the citizens of Gaza as human shields. The entire objective, for Hamas, is to have heart-wrenching pictures of dead Palestinian women and children emblazoned across the evening news, for the UN and the media to use to demonize Israel. Using civilians as human shields is a war crime, and Secretary Clinton should not be excusing it merely as a consequence of the small size of Gaza." [Blog Post, Senator Ted Cruz, Facebook, 7/29/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SOME COLUMNISTS CLAIMED THAT SECRETARY CLINTON IS LIKELY TO HAVE A BETTER RELATIONSHIP WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER NETANYAHU THAN PRESIDENT OBAMA CURRENTLY DOES...

Foreign Policy's Aaron David Miller: Secretary Clinton "Has Some Natural Advantages That Would Help Mitigate Some Of The Gratuitous Tensions That Have Made An Already Tough [U.S.-Israel] Relationship Tougher And Perhaps Lay The Groundwork For More Productive Cooperation." "Indeed, she conceded in her book Hard Choices that she was never comfortable playing the bad cop with Netanyahu to Joe Biden's more even-tempered good cop. And yet, she has some natural advantages that would help mitigate some of the gratuitous tensions that have made an already tough relationship tougher and perhaps lay the groundwork for more productive cooperation." [Aaron David Miller, Foreign Policy, 11/10/14]

Foreign Policy's Aaron David Miller On Secretary Clinton: "Should She Become President...Better Ties With Israel Are Virtually Guaranteed." "Should she become president, on one level, better ties with Israel are virtually guaranteed. I remember well the transition from Bush 41 to Bill Clinton in 1993. A willful effort was made to demonstrate that the page had turned and that the roller coaster ride under Bush and Secretary of State James Baker (quite productive really) was over. Granted it was easier then because Yitzhak Rabin was prime minister. But let's not forget that the Clintons dealt with Bibi too as prime minister. It was never easy. But clearly it was a lot more productive than what we see now. A couple of interim Israeli-Palestinian agreements and a successful leader summit helped keep things quiet. It was conflict management. But, hey, that's kind of what's required now." [Aaron David Miller, Foreign Policy, 11/10/14]

<u>Washington Post</u>: "From Netanhayu's Perspective, Clinton Would Be An Improvement Over President Obama." "From Netanhayu's perspective, Clinton would be an improvement over President Obama, who has all but washed his hands of an Israeli leader he finds overbearing, Israeli officials and observers said in interviews here." [Washington Post, 3/1/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS LONG-STANDING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH ISRAELI LEADERS

Foreign Policy's Aaron David Miller: Secretary Clinton "Has Long-Standing Ties To A Wide Range Of Israeli Personalities." "To put it simply, as a more conventional politician, Hillary is good on Israel and relates to the country in a way this president doesn't. She visited the country for the first time in 1981 and has been as frequent visitor ever since; she has long-standing ties to a wide range of Israeli personalities and has incorporated all of the tropes from Leon Uris's novel Exodus, including making the desert bloom, etc., into her vocabulary. Unlike Obama, who was not quite 6 years old at the time of the 1967 war (the seminal event that mobilized both the non-Jewish and Jewish communities in support of Israel), Hillary is from a different generation and functioned in a political world in which being good on Israel was both mandatory and smart." [Aaron David Miller, Foreign Policy, 11/10/14]

Foreign Policy's Aaron David Miller: "Hillary Has Formed Close Relationships With Israelis," Such As The Family Of Assassinated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. "Then there's the reality that unlike Barack Obama, Hillary has formed close relationships with Israelis. These aren't instrumental ties of convenience either. Like her husband who was shattered by Rabin's murder, she grieved personally too. And her friendship with Rabin's wife Leah was among the strongest. I accompanied her to Mrs. Rabin funeral in 2000 and observed how deeply she was affected by Leah's passing, which along with Rabin's murder reflected a consequential moment in the Clinton presidency. Rabin, Yasser Arafat (the most frequent visitor to the Oval Office in 2000), and the Oslo process gave a young president with little experience in foreign policy a brief brush with history and the larger-than-life personalities that can drive it. Hillary had a front-row seat. And I believe the tragedy and unfulfilled promise of it all touched her deeply. She has empathy for the Palestinians too, a

fact that got her into trouble in 1998 when in a message to the Seeds of Peace organization she endorsed Palestinian statehood before it was fashionable in U.S. policy. But her real affinity lies with the Israelis. Indeed, like Bill Clinton, the Israelis frustrate her. But she has bought off on the idea that unless you can get Israeli buy-in, there just won't be a deal. And that means being tough at times but very reassuring most of the time. Vinegar is useful, but honey more so." [Aaron David Miller, Foreign Policy, 11/10/14]

CLINTON HAS SHOWN HER ABILITY TO WORK WITH NETANYAHU IN THE PAST

Washington Post: The Relationship Between Secretary Clinton And Netanyahu Was Built On A Shared Sense That Each Can Do Business With The Other...[And] Did Not Seem To Suffer From The Rougher Patches During Clinton's Tenure As Secretary Of State." "Clinton's tough line with Netanyahu was born of a two-decades-old acquaintance built on wary respect and a shared sense that each can do business with the other. Their relationship did not seem to suffer from the rougher patches during Clinton's tenure as secretary of state, officials said. Clinton and Netanyahu made a point of showing no hard feelings when Clinton visited Israel just two months after the March 2010 settlement debacle and telephonic dressing-down." [Washington Post, 3/1/15]

Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu Said He Knew Secretary Clinton Understood "That Israel Will Have To Take Whatever Action Is Necessary To Defend Its People." "I'm sure you understand that Israel will have to take whatever action is necessary to defend its people. This is something that I don't have to explain to Americans. I know that you, President Obama, and the American people understand that perfectly well." [Al Jazeera English, YouTube, 11/20/12]

<u>Washington Post</u>: Secretary Clinton Praised Netanyahu "Publicly For Taking 'Unprecedented' Steps Toward Peace, Defended Israeli Military Action In The Gaza Strip In 2012 And Nudged Netanyahu Into A Cease-Fire With Old-Fashioned Shuttle Diplomacy." "She also praised him publicly for taking 'unprecedented' steps toward peace, defended Israeli military action in the Gaza Strip in 2012 and nudged Netanyahu into a cease-fire with old-fashioned shuttle diplomacy." [Washington Post, 3/1/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON SUPPORTED EXPANSION OF U.S. FUNDING FOR ISRAEL'S IRON DOME MISSILE DEFENSE SYSTEM

Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu Thanked Secretary Clinton For Her "Support Of Iron Dome." "I want to thank you especially for your support of Iron Dome—it's been saving lives." [Al Jazeera English, YouTube, 11/20/12]

According To Her Memoir, Secretary Clinton And President Obama "Got To Work Expanding Security Cooperation And Investing In Key Joint Defense Projects, Including Iron Dome." "President Obama and I wanted to take it to the next level. Right away, we got to work expanding security cooperation and investing in key joint defense projects, including Iron Dome, a short-range missile defense system to help protect Israeli cities and homes from rockets." [Hillary Clinton, Hard Choices, 6/10/14]

Assistant Secretary Of State For Political-Military Affairs Andrew Shapiro:
 "Since Day One, President Obama And Secretary Clinton Have Not Only
 Honored And Re-Energized America's Enduring Commitment To Israel's
 Security, But Have Taken Action To Expand It To An Unprecedented Level."
 "Since day one, President Obama and Secretary Clinton have not only honored and reenergized America's enduring commitment to Israel's security, but have taken action to

expand it to an unprecedented level. Our work is rooted in knowledge shared across the decades by presidents and policymakers on both sides of the aisle that a strong and secure Israel -- and an Israel at peace with its neighbors -- is critical not only to the interests of Israelis and Palestinians, but also to America's strategic interests." [Assistant Secretary Shapiro Remarks at the Brookings Saban Center, State Department, 7/16/10]

• Assistant Secretary Of State For Political-Military Affairs Shapiro: The President Asked Congress For \$205 Million To Support Iron Dome Because He And Secretary Clinton Understood That "The Rocket Threats From Hezbollah And Hamas Represent The Most Immediate Challenge" To Israeli Security. "Let me now turn to another area where we are deepening our security relationship with Israel. The rocket threats from Hezbollah and Hamas represent the most immediate challenge. This is a very real daily concern for ordinary Israelis living in border towns such as Sderot, who know that a rocket fired from Gaza may come crashing down at any moment. As a Senator, President Obama travelled to Israel and met with families whose homes had been destroyed by rockets. So the President understands this threat. Secretary Clinton understands it. And I understand it. That is why earlier this spring, the President asked Congress to authorize \$205 million to support the production of an Israeli-developed short range rocket defense system called Iron Dome." [Assistant Secretary Shapiro Remarks at the Brookings Saban Center, State Department, 7/16/10]

SECRETARY CLINTON SIGNALED THAT SHE WOULD BE ABLE TO RETAIN ISRAEL'S SUPPORT FOR AN IRANIAN NUCLEAR DEAL

Washington Post: Secretary Clinton "Is On Record Voicing Much The Same Concern" As Israel Over A Possible Iran Deal, And "If A Deal Is Signed, Clinton Would Carry It Forward But Would Probably Also Find Ways To Reassure Netanyahu That The United States Will Not Be Hoodwinked." "The Iran deal at issue now is likely to be resolved before the 2016 election, but not the underlying fear for Israelis that Iran remains what Netanyahu calls an 'existential' threat next door. Clinton is on record voicing much the same concern, along with doubts that Iran would abide by any deal it struck. If a deal is signed, Clinton would carry it forward but would probably also find ways to reassure Netanyahu that the United States will not be hoodwinked." [Washington Post, 3/1/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON DENOUNCED HAMAS AND PALESTINIAN ATTEMPTS TO BYPASS A PEACE PROCESS WITH ISRAEL

Secretary Clinton: "I Would Not Put Hamas In The Category Of People We Could Work With." "I would not put Hamas in the category of people we could work with. I don't think that is realistic because its whole reason for being is resistance against Israel, destruction of Israel, and it is married to very nasty tactics and ideologies, including virulent anti-Semitism. I do not think they should be in any way treated as a legitimate interlocutor, especially because if you do that, it redounds to the disadvantage of the Palestinian Authority, which has a lot of problems, but historically has changed its charter, moved away from the kind of guerrilla resistance movement of previous decades." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

Secretary Clinton: "What You See Is Largely What Hamas Invites And Permits Western Journalists To Report On From Gaza." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

Secretary Clinton On Israel-Gaza Conflict: "Part Of The Hamas Calculation...[Was] To Provoke Israel To Respond." In a live question-and-answer session at Twitter headquarters in San Fransisco, Secretary Clinton said: "Because of the actions by Hamas, first to rain rockets onto Israel, Israel being provoked — because I do think that was part of the Hamas calculation, to provoke Israel to respond, to defend itself, which any nation has to

do if you are under attack like that, and then we see the unfortunate effects of any conflict with innocent people being caught in the crossfires." [Politico, $\frac{7}{21/14}$]

Secretary Clinton Called The 2012 United Nations General Assembly Vote To Recognize Palestine As A Nonmember State "Unfortunate And Counterproductive." "Secretary of State Hillary Clinton blasted the United Nations General Assembly Thursday for voting to recognize Palestine as a nonmember state. 'I want to say a few words about the unfortunate and counterproductive resolution at the United Nations General Assembly,' Clinton said at an event hosted by Foreign Policy magazine in Washington D.C." [Politico, 11/29/12]

SECRETARY CLINTON DEFENDED ISRAEL'S ACTIONS DURING A RECENT ISRAEL-GAZA CONFLICT

Secretary Clinton: International Criticism Of Israel's Self-Defense "Is Uncalled For And Unfair." "We do see this enormous international reaction against Israel, and Israel's right to defend itself, and the way Israel has to defend itself. This reaction is uncalled for and unfair." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

Secretary Clinton: "It Is Not 'Accurate Or Fair' To Say Israel May Have Committed War Crimes." "Hillary Clinton retorts an U.N commissioner, tells @FareedZakaria, it isn't 'accurate or fair' to say Israel may have committed war crimes." [Twitter, @danmericaCNN, 7/25/14]

Secretary Clinton: "If I Were The Prime Minister Of Israel, You're Damn Right I Would Expect To Have Control Over Security" In The West Bank. "I got Netanyahu to agree to the unprecedented settlement freeze, it did not cover East Jerusalem, but it did cover the West Bank and it was actually legitimate and it did stop new housing starts for 10 months...So what I tell people is, yeah, if I were the prime minister of Israel, you're damn right I would expect to have control over security [in the West Bank], because even if I'm dealing with Abbas, who is 79 years old, and other members of Fatah, who are enjoying a better lifestyle and making money on all kinds of things, that does not protect Israel from the influx of Hamas or cross-border attacks from anywhere else. With Syria and Iraq, it is all one big threat. So Netanyahu could not do this in good conscience." [The Atlantic, 8/10/14]

...AND CALLED THE TEMPORARY RESOLUTION OF THE 2012 ISRAEL-GAZA CONFLICT ONE OF HER BIGGEST ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Politico: Secretary Clinton Considers The 2012 Cease-Fire Between Israel And Hamas "One Of Her Biggest Accomplishments As Secretary Of State," But That Truce "Has Fallen Apart Less Than Two Years Later." "Hillary Clinton often points to the 2012 cease-fire between Israel and Hamas as one of her biggest accomplishments as secretary of state. She may have to add an asterisk to that story. The truce Clinton helped forge has fallen apart less than two years later, and Israel and the Palestinian militant group that runs the Gaza Strip are again deep in military conflict." [Politico, 7/15/14]

<u>Politico</u>: In The Weeks Before The Cease-Fire Collapsed, Secretary Clinton "Singled Out The Deal Repeatedly As One Of Which She Is Particularly Proud." "On her book tour in the United States and Europe, and in several speeches before the book's release, she has singled out the deal repeatedly as one of which she is particularly proud — and still intact. In a C-SPAN interview that aired over the July 4 weekend, right before hostilities broke out in a concerted fashion, Clinton was asked about her 'favorite' story from the book. She offered several anecdotes, but noted the Gaza cease-fire first." [Politico, 7/15/14]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

EUROPE

2016ER ATTACKS

Rubio On If He Thinks There Is A Signature Achievement Of Hillary Clinton's Tenure As Secretary Of State: "I Do Not." MR: "Around the world today, perhaps, the most common theme is one of serious doubt about the U.S.' willingness to lead or ability to lead, whether it's in Asia or Europe, or in any part of the planet, so what is the signature achievement of her four and a half years at the State Department?" HH: "Do you think there is one?" MR: "I do not. In fact, I think if you look at the administration's foreign policy especially during her watch, it completely lacked any sort of strategic vision of what America's role is in the world in the 21st Century." [Hugh Hewitt Show, 6/9/14]

Bobby Jindal Attacked The Obama Administration And Hillary Clinton For Neglecting And Abandoning Our Allies. "Otherwise, Jindal's remark were heavy on blaming the Obama White House, including former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, for fumbling foreign policy. 'Today, we see a world in which the Obama administration has neglected or abandoned America's long-standing allies. Our 'special relationship' with Britain is gone, NATO is drifting, Eastern Europe is disaffected, and Israel has been purposefully alienated from the United States,' he said. He went on to say the last months has sparked the rise of ISIS, Russia's incursion into Crimea and Ukraine, and other flare-ups around the world." [The Post And Courier, 10/7/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS MAINTAINED A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES...

British Foreign Secretary William Hague On Secretary Clinton: "We Each Relied Heavily On The Bond Of The Special Relationship During A Time Of Momentous Upheaval And Change In The Middle East." "The working relationship between a British Foreign Secretary and an American Secretary of State is exceptionally close. I think I speak for both of us in saying that we each relied heavily on the bond of the Special Relationship during a time of momentous upheaval and change in the Middle East. But one of the many reasons I enjoyed working with you so much is because we share the conviction that foreign policy is not just about responding to the crises of today; it is about improving the condition of humanity." [British Foreign Secretary Hague Remarks, 10/11/13]

British Foreign Secretary William Hague On Secretary Clinton: "As Secretary Of State You Strongly Supported My Campaign To End The Use Of Rape As A Weapon Of War." "As Secretary of State you strongly supported my campaign to end the use of rape as a weapon of war, and last month we passed an inspiring milestone, when 134 countries came together for the first time to endorse our new global declaration promising to end sexual violence in conflict." [British Foreign Secretary Hague Remarks, 10/11/13]

British Foreign Secretary William Hague On Secretary Clinton: "I Am Pleased On My Own Account To Be Able To Thank You For Our Excellent Working Relationship And Friendship, For Your Inspiring Faith In Value Of Diplomacy, For Your Attachment To Britain." "So I am proud to pay tribute to you tonight Hillary, for this richly-deserved recognition of your service to your country and to the world; and I am pleased on my own account to be able to thank you for our excellent working relationship

and friendship, for your inspiring faith in value of diplomacy, for your attachment to Britain, your belief in the power of friendship between nations, your often infectious optimism, your infallible good humour, your steely resolve, and for being a Secretary of State who not only served the American people, but fought powerfully for all of us who want to see the expansion of human rights and freedom everywhere." [British Foreign Secretary Hague Remarks, 10/11/13]

Clinton On U.S.-U.K. Relationship: "It Is So Special To Me, Personally, And I Think It Is Very Special Between Our Countries...It Doesn't Matter In Our Country Whether It's A Republican Or Democrat, Or Frankly In Your Country Whether It's A Conservative Or A Tory...There Is A Level Of Trust And Understanding." "It is so special to me, personally, and I think it is very special between our countries. There's just a —not just a common language—but a common set of values that we can fall back on,' she said. 'It doesn't matter in our country whether it's a Republican or Democrat, or frankly in your country whether it's a Conservative or a Tory. There is a level of trust and understanding. It doesn't mean we always agree because of course we don't.'" [National Journal, 7/3/14]

• National Journal: Clinton "Clinton Misidentifed The Two Largest Political Parties In The U.K.," As A Tory And A Conservative Are One In The Same. "In an interview with the BBC's Woman's Hour show, Clinton misidentifed the two largest political parties in the U.K. after being asked about the 'special relationship' between the American and British governments....For those of you not super into British politics: A Tory is the same thing as a Conservative. They are the same party—it would be like saying the GOP is different from the Republican Party. Granted, it's not exactly a Kinsley gaffe, but it does look somewhat embarrassing for a former secretary of State and, as Alex Seitz-Wald points out, one who has championed her own worldliness." [National Journal, 7/3/14]

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius On Secretary Clinton: "You're Both An Altogether Remarkable Woman And A Friend Of Europe And France." "My dear Hillary, I wanted to tell you how extremely pleased we are to have you here at the Ministry, which is familiar to you. You've come here to present your book, and I'm sure it will be a very great success. It's been a pleasure for me – along with our friends present and a number of predecessors you worked with too – to welcome you for this really friendly discussion, because – even though this will embarrass you – you're both an altogether remarkable woman and a friend of Europe and France." [Foreign Minister Fabius Remarks, 7/7/14]

French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius Praised Clinton's "Leadership...Natural Authority," And Her Efforts Aimed At Allowing Women To "Have An Increasingly Important Role In A Global Society." "What's always struck me is that you don't often take for yourself the posts you've held and the positions you've adopted, you take them so that women genuinely have an increasingly important role in global society. That's really something extremely important. I was also always struck, during the too short a time I worked with you, by what in plain French is called 'leadership.' What's more, there is no word to translate this into excellent French, but it's true to say that this leadership is very impressive both due to your skills and because you have a natural authority which means that when you speak, everyone listens, and very often everyone follows." [Foreign Minister Fabius Remarks, 7/7/14]

Washington Post: "The Air Campaign Over Libya...Has Emerged As A Foreign Policy Success For The Obama Administration And Its Most Famous Cabinet Member, Secretary Of State Hillary Rodham Clinton." "At 5:45 p.m. on March 19,

three hours before the official start of the air campaign over Libya, four French Rafale jet fighters streaked across the Mediterranean coastline to attack a column of tanks heading toward the rebel city of Benghazi...Seven months later, with longtime U.S. nemesis Moammar Gaddafi dead and Libya's onetime rebels now in charge, the coalition air campaign has emerged as a foreign policy success for the Obama administration and its most famous Cabinet member, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton." [Washington Post, 10/30/11]

Washington Post: Secretary Clinton Was Able To Forge An International Coalition To Intervene In Libya "Using Her Mixture Of Political Pragmatism And Tenacity To Referee Spats Among NATO Partners." "Seven months later, with longtime U.S. nemesis Moammar Gaddafi dead and Libya's onetime rebels now in charge, the coalition air campaign has emerged as a foreign policy success for the Obama administration and its most famous Cabinet member, Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton. Some Republicans derided the effort as 'leading from behind,' while many others questioned why President Obama was entangling the nation in another overseas military campaign that had little strategic urgency and scant public support. But with NATO operations likely to end this week, U.S. officials and key allies are offering a detailed new defense of the approach and Clinton's pivotal role — both within a divided Cabinet and a fragile, assembled-on-the-fly international alliance. What emerges from these accounts is a picture of Clinton using her mixture of political pragmatism and tenacity to referee spats among NATO partners, secure crucial backing from Arab countries and tutor rebels on the fine points of message management." [Washington Post, 10/30/11]

<u>Reuters</u>: Secretary Clinton Called German Chancellor Angela Merkel "The Greatest Leader In Europe." "Former U.S. secretary of state Hillary Clinton called Chancellor Angela Merkel 'the greatest leader in Europe' during a visit to Berlin on Sunday and said it was high time America had a woman leader too, though without confirming she would seek the job." [Reuters, 7/6/14]

...WHILE STILL PRESSURING FRIENDLY NATIONS TO STAND UP TO RUSSIA

Wall Street Journal's Washington Wire: Secretary Clinton "Called On European Nations To Become Less Dependent On Russian Energy Supplies And Impose Stronger Sanctions." "'Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called on European nations to become less dependent on Russian energy supplies and impose stronger sanctions on their Eastern neighbor. 'They need to understand they must stand up to [Russian President] Vladimir Putin,' Mrs. Clinton said on CNN in an interview with Fareed Zakaria. 'The reluctance has to do with European dependence on energy from Russia.'" [Washington Wire, Wall Street Journal, 7/27/14]

Wall Street Journal's Washington Wire: As Secretary Of State, Clinton Established "A Roughly 100-Person Office That Seeks To Further Diplomacy Through Energy Security." "Mrs. Clinton said that while she was Secretary of State during the first term of the Obama administration, she told European nations then that they need to diversify their energy supplies. As secretary, she created in 2011 the department's Bureau of Energy Resources, a roughly 100-person office that seeks to further diplomacy through energy security." [Washington Wire, Wall Street Journal, 7/27/14]

Secretary Clinton On The Malaysian Airplane That Crashed Over Ukraine: If Evidence Links Russia To The Crash, Europe Must "Put Putin On Notice That He Has Gone Too Far." Speaking about the crash of Malaysia Airlines Flight 17 in Ukraine, Secretary Clinton said, "If there is evidence linking Russia to this, that should inspire the Europeans to do much more on three counts. One, toughen their own sanctions — make it

very clear there has to be a price to pay. Number two, immediately accelerate efforts and announce they are doing so to find alternatives to Gazprom. Russia has not diversified its economy. It is still largely dependent upon natural resources, principally gas and oil. And thirdly do more in concert with us to support the Ukrainians...Put Putin on notice that he has gone too far and we are not going to stand idly by. So, the Europeans have to be the ones to take the lead on this. It was a flight from Amsterdam to Kuala Lumpur over European territory. There should be outrage in European capitals." [Charlie Rose, PBS, 7/17/14]

CNN: London Mayor Boris Johnson Said That "Hillary Clinton Is Worried That European Governments Are Being 'Too Wimpy' In Dealing With Russian President Vladimir Putin" And That "She Wanted Us In Britain To Stick It, To Take It To Putin." "Hillary Clinton is worried that European governments are being 'too wimpy' in dealing with Russian President Vladimir Putin, London's mayor Boris Johnson said Friday... 'Her general anxiety was that Putin, if unchallenged and unchecked, would continue to expand his influence in the perimeter of what was the Soviet Union. She spoke of alarm in Estonia and the Baltic states. I was very, very struck by that.' 'I was struck by the firmness with which she wanted us in Britain to stick it, to take it to Putin,' he said, once again underlining he was not using Clinton's exact words but offering a 'brutal summary' of what she said." [CNN, 2/13/15]

ECONOMIC INEQUALITY

2016ER ATTACKS

REPUBLICANS ATTACKED SECRETARY CLINTON FOR SUPPORTING POLICIES THAT RAISED INCOME INEQUALITY AND FOR SUGGESTING THAT RAISING THE MINIMUM WAGE WOULD HEAL THE ECONOMY

Ted Cruz: "I Chuckle Every Time I Hear Barack Obama Or Hillary Clinton Talk About Income Inequality, Because It's Increased Dramatically Under Their Policies." [Washington Post, 1/26/15; Ted Cruz Remarks, Freedom Partners Chambers of Commerce Forum, 1/25/15; VIDEO]

HEADLINE: "Ted Cruz: "I Can Only Laugh" When Obama, Clinton Discuss Income Inequality Since They Made It Worse." [BuzzFeed, 12/18/14; Ted Cruz Interview, KJCE AM, The Laura Ingraham Show, 12/18/14; AUDIO]

Regarding The Plight Of Working People, Christie Said That "Mrs. Clinton's Answer To That Is To Say, 'Raise The Minimum Wage'" Even Though Parents Don't Aspire To Have Their Children Earn The Minimum Wage. "Any Republican, of course, would have to come through a potential bloodbath of a primary to make it to the general election — widely presumed to be a showdown with Democrat Hillary Clinton, although she has yet to state her intentions. When it comes to improving the lot of working people, Christie said with a dose of sarcasm, 'Mrs. Clinton's answer to that is to say, 'Raise the minimum wage.' 'I will tell you this: No parents are sitting around the kitchen table tonight and saying, 'If our child can get a higher minimum wage, my gosh, every one of our aspirations for them will be realized,' 'Christie said to appreciative chuckles." [New York Daily News, 2/26/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS CITED INCOME INEQUALITY AS A ROADBLOCK TO UPWARD MOBILITY IN AMERICA AND SIGNALED THAT HER CAMPAIGN WOULD FOCUS ON FINDING SOLUTIONS

HEADLINE: "Clinton: US Needs Solutions To Income Inequality" [Associated Press, 3/23/15]

Wall Street Journal: Secretary Clinton Signaled That "The Need To Combat Economic Inequality" Would Be A Theme Of her Campaign. "Hillary Clinton road-tested two themes likely to shape her pitch to voters in the 2016 presidential campaign—the value of working together and the need to combat economic inequality—during a panel discussion with Democratic groups on Monday...Mrs. Clinton pointed to income inequality as a persistent problem. 'A lot of our cities truly are divided,' she said. 'They have some of the most dynamic, well-educated, affluent people in the world, and people who are trapped in generational poverty.' The issue is a top concern for many progressives in the party and an emerging theme among some Republicans as well." [Wall Street Journal, 3/23/15]

- TIME: A Center For American Progress Report Was Considered An Attempt By Clinton Allies To Frame "An Economic Policy Agenda For Her Presumptive 2016 Presidential Campaign." "Hillary Clinton's allies appear to be taking their first shot at framing an economic policy agenda for her presumptive 2016 presidential campaign, with a new report out Thursday from the Clinton-friendly liberal think tank Center for American Progress." [TIME, 1/15/15]
- MSNBC: Inclusive Prosperity Report Aims To Figure Out How To "Boost Wages For The Middle Class And Share Prosperity More Broadly." "A new report from a leading Democratic think tank offers clues about how Hillary Clinton might tackle economic inequality, which has become a key motivating issue of the progressive base, if she decides to run for president in 2016. The report, assembled by an international panel of prominent economists and policy experts, tries to tackle one of the biggest and most difficult questions of contemporary economics how to boost wages for the middle class and share prosperity more broadly." [MSNBC, 1/16/15]

Associated Press: Inclusive Prosperity Report Touted "Tax Credits For Middle-Class Families, Incentives For Employees To Partake In Profit-Sharing, Attention To Collective Bargaining Rights And Tying The Repayment Of Student Loans To A Graduate's Income." Inclusive Prosperity Report "also offered other ideas with broad appeal in the party: tax credits for middle-class families, incentives for employees to partake in profit-sharing, attention to collective bargaining rights and tying the repayment of student loans to a graduate's income earned over two decades or more." [Associated Press, 1/18/15]

Secretary Clinton: "Economists Have Documented How The Share Of Income And Wealth Going To Those At The Very Top...Has Risen Sharply Over The Last Generation...Some Are Calling It A Throwback To The Gilded Age Of The Robber Barons." "The dream of upward mobility that made this country a model for the world feels further and further out of reach and many Americans understandably feel frustrated, even angry," Clinton said.... 'And where is it all going?' Clinton asked. 'Economists have documented how the share of income and wealth going to those at the very top, not just the top 1 percent but the top 0.1 percent, the 0.01 percent of the population, has risen sharply over the last generation," she said. 'Some are calling it a throwback to the Gilded Age of the robber barons.'" [MSNBC, 5/16/14]

AS A SENATOR, CLINTON REPEATEDLY ADVOCATED TO RAISE THE MINIMUM WAGE

Then-Senator Clinton Co-Sponsored The Fair Minimum Wage Act of 2007. [S.2, 110^{th} Congress, date co-sponsored 1/4/07]

<u>Library Of Congress</u>: Then-Senator Clinton Introduced The Standing With Minimum Wage Earners Act In 2006 And 2007, Which Would Adjust The Minimum Wage Each Year To Proportionately Match "The Annual Increase In Pay For Members Of Congress." [S.2725, 109th Congress, introduced <u>, 5/4/06</u>; S.2514, 110th Congress introduced <u>12/18/07</u>]

Then-Senator Clinton: "The Reality Is A Full-Time Job That Pays Minimum Wage Just Does Not Provide Enough Money To Support A Family Today... We Have A Responsibility To Help Families Earn A Living Wage." "The reality is a full-time job that pays minimum wage just does not provide enough money to support a family today. A single mother with two children who works 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year earns only \$10,700 a year. This amount—\$10,700 a year—is almost \$6,000 below the Federal poverty line for a family of three. We have a responsibility to help families earn a living wage." [Congressional Testimony, Congressional Quarterly, 5/4/06]

Then-Senator Clinton: "Raising The Minimum Wage Will Also Narrow The Dramatic Income Gap Between The Haves And The Have-Nots Across The Country." "In addition to helping America's hardest working families, raising the minimum wage will also narrow the dramatic income gap between the haves and the have-nots across the country. The average income of the richest fifth of New York State families is 8.1 times the average income of the poorest fifth. Nationwide, families in the top fifth made 7.3 times more than those in the bottom fifth. This discrepancy needs to be fixed and my bill would be a step in the right direction towards fairness for America's hard-working families." [Congressional Testimony, Congressional Quarterly, 5/4/06]

Then-Senator Clinton: "My Legislation...Ensures That Every Time Congress Gives Itself A Raise In The Future That Americans Get A Raise Too. This Is The Right And Fair Thing To Do For Hardworking Americans." [Congressional Testimony, Congressional Quarterly, 5/4/06]

AS A SENATOR, CLINTON FORGED BIPARTISAN COMPROMISE TO EXPAND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS IN 2003 AND PUSHED TO EXTEND THEM IN 2003 AND 2008

New York Times: "In A Case Study Of How Legislative Objectives Can Trump Ideology," Then-Senators Clinton And Nickles "Teamed Up Last Week To Help Deliver Added Unemployment Benefits To Millions Of Americans." "He tried to impeach her husband and hated her health care plan. She was not thrilled when he complained about post-Sept. 11 aid to New York. Yet, in a case study of how legislative objectives can trump ideology, Senators Hillary Rodham Clinton, Democrat of New York, and Don Nickles, Republican of Oklahoma, teamed up last week to help deliver added unemployment benefits to millions of Americans." [New York Times, 1/13/03]

2003: Then-Senator Clinton Co-Sponsored A Bill To Extend Temporary Unemployment Benefits Through **2004.** [S.1708, 108th Congress, co-sponsored 10/2/03]

2008: Then-Senator Clinton Voted To Invoke Cloture On The Unemployment Compensation Extension Act Of 2008. The bill was passed by voice vote on this same day. [H.R.6867, Vote 214, 110th Congress, 11/20/08; H.R.6867, Action Summary, 11/20/08]

AS A SENATOR, CLINTON INTRODUCED AND CO-SPONSORED PAYCHECK FAIRNESS LEGISLATION

Then-Senator Clinton Introduced The Paycheck Fairness Act In 2005 And 2007. [S.841109th Congress, introduced 4/19/05; S.766, 110th Congress, introduced3/6/07]

Then-Senator Clinton Co-Sponsored The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act Of 2009. [S.181, 111^{th} Congress, co-sponsored 1/8/09]

AS A SENATOR, CLINTON REPEATEDLY VOTED AGAINST THE BUSH TAX CUTS

Then-Senator Clinton Voted Against The Bush Tax Cuts In 2001. [H.R.1836, Vote 170, 107th Congress, <u>5/26/01</u>]

Then-Senator Clinton Voted Against The Bush Tax Cuts In 2003. [H.R.2, Vote 196, 108th Congress, 5/23/03]

Then-Senator Clinton Voted Against Extending The Bush Tax Cuts In 2006. [H.R.4297, Vote 118, 5/11/06]

WALL ST TIES

2016ER ATTACKS

RUBIO ATTACKED CLINTON FOR HAVING THE SUPPORT OF WALL STREET AND BIG DONORS

Rubio Called Hillary Clinton The "Front-Runner For The Democratic Nomination" Who Would Have "The Support Of Many On Wall Street, Many Of The Big Donors Around The Country." INSKEEP: "How strong a candidate do you think Hillary Clinton is..." RUBIO: "Well, I..." INSKEEP: "...Assuming she runs?" RUBIO: "Yeah, so I would say a couple things about it - first is, clearly she's a front-runner for the Democratic nomination. I think she'd have the support of many on Wall Street, many of the big donors around the country." [Morning Edition, NPR, 7/22/14]

Rubio On Hillary Clinton: "If She Runs For President, No Candidate In American History Will Have More Support In The Boardrooms Than Hillary Clinton. That's A Fact!" "And then putting on a little Elizabeth Warren spin, Rubio went on a a [sic] bit of anti-Wall Street screed, saying that 'If she runs for President, no candidate in American history will have more support in the boardrooms than Hillary Clinton. That's a fact! And yet the average voter doesn't believe that.'" [Florida Politics, 12/6/14]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON CRITICIZED REPUBLICANS FOR WEAKENING FINANCIAL REFORM

Secretary Clinton On Republican Attempts To Weaken Dodd-Frank: "Attacking Financial Reform Is Risky And Wrong." "Hillary Clinton is defending the Dodd-Frank Act as Republicans in Congress look for ways to water down the overhaul of financial regulation and some fellow Democrats accuse her of being too cozy with Wall Street. 'Attacking financial reform is risky and wrong,' Clinton, a former U.S. Secretary of State who's considering a White House run in 2016, wrote Friday in a Twitter message. 'Better for Congress to focus on jobs and wages for middle class families.'" [Bloomberg, 1/16/15]

2008: THEN-SENATOR CLINTON SIGNALED SHE WOULD BE OPEN TO RAISING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX RATE

New York Times: In 2008, Then-Senator Clinton "Said She Would Not Raise The Capital Gains Rate Above 20 Percent 'If I Raised It At All.'" "If she runs for president, it will be very interesting to see whether Mrs. Clinton takes a position substantially to Barack Obama's right on capital gains taxes, as she did in 2008. In a debate in April of that year, Mrs. Clinton said she would not raise the capital gains rate above 20 percent 'if I raised it at all.'" [New York Times, 3/13/15]

• New York Times: Due To The Affordable Care Act And The 2013 Fiscal Cliff Deal, "The Top Tax Rate On Capital Gains Has Gone From 15 Percent In 2008 To 23.8 Percent Today, Higher Than The Red Line Mrs. Clinton Set." "The Affordable Care Act created an additional 3.8 percent tax on capital gains for high earners, and the so-called fiscal cliff deal of 2013 added another 5 points to the rate, so the top tax rate on capital gains has gone from 15 percent in 2008 to 23.8 percent today, higher than the red line Mrs. Clinton set. In his most recent budget, Mr. Obama proposed to further increase the rate to 28 percent." [New York Times, 3/13/15]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

WOMEN

2016ER ATTACKS

RAND PAUL CALLED BILL CLINTON A SEXUAL PREDATOR AND CALLED DEMOCRATIC EFFORTS TO PORTRAY THEMSELVES AS CHAMPIONS OF WOMEN HYPOCRITICAL IN LIGHT OF HIS ACTIONS

HEADLINE: "Rand Paul: Democrats Should Disown 'Sexual Predator' Bill Clinton." [Washington Post, 2/6/14]

Rand Paul Called Bill Clinton A "Sexual Predator." "Sen. Rand Paul (R-Ky.) said in a new interview that Democrats should distance themselves from Bill Clinton if they are serious about women's rights. Asked on Newsmax TV whether Clinton is an unsavory character, Paul repeated his assertion that the former president is a 'sexual predator.'" [Aaron Blake, Washington Post, 2/6/14]

Rand Paul Called Democrats Hypocritical For Being "Big On All These Workplace Rules To Protect Women," But When Bill Clinton Was President "He Really Didn't Obey The Workplace Rules On Women And What He Did Was Inappropriate." "Paul's been anything but shy in his criticism of the former president over the Monica Lewinsky scandal. 'I think the American people don't like hypocrisy. Democrats have been big on all these workplace rules to protect women, most of which I agree with. But then when he was commander and chief he really didn't obey the workplace rules on women and what he did was inappropriate,' Paul offered." [NH1, 10/16/14]

Rand Paul Said That Democrats Said They Were "Great Saviors Of Women In The Workplace," But Bill Clinton's Affair With An Intern Was "Sexual Harassment." "'You know what's funny about it is I tell people – they're like, "Why did you bring up the Clintons? Why did you bring up Bill being such a predator and sexual harassment and what he did with an intern in the workplace?"' Paul said. 'I said, 'Well, because they asked me the question.' I tend to answer questions and they ask me the question. I answered the question and they asked my wife the same question. But it is an important point because the Democrats want to say, 'We're the great saviors of women in the workplace.' One of the things we have done that is a step forward, has been over the last couple of decades is

women should be protected from predatory behavior of their bosses. And that's what Bill Clinton's affair, whatever you want to call it with an intern was, was sexual harassment." [Breitbart, $\frac{2}{5}$ 14]

Rand Paul: "Until They [Democrats] Get Rid Of The Hypocrisy That They're Going To Be Great Feminist And They're Going Defend A Big Bully In The Workplace Who Takes Advantage Of A 20-Year-Old Girl, I Don't Think They Have A Leg To Stand On." "'And so until they get rid of the hypocrisy that they're going to be great feminist and they're going defend a big bully in the workplace who takes advantage of a 20-year-old girl, I don't think they have a leg to stand on,' Paul continued. 'And that hypocrisy defeats their whole argument. I mean look at the other people who give money. Look at a Woody Allen, who is a big Democrat giver across the country, whose seven-year-old girl described what he did to her. And yet nobody in Hollywood blinks an eye and says he's still our big pal. We love Woody Allen. He's a great giver to Democrat causes. And really there should be a social shunning of somebody who would do something like that, if not prison.'" [Breitbart, 2/5/14]

Rand Paul Said There Was "A Question Of Hypocrisy" In The Fact That Democrats Said There Was A War On Women By The Republicans, And Yet They Defended A Man Who Did Something "Inexcusable" In the Workplace. Rand Paul on his comments about Bill Clinton and Monica Lewinsky: "You know, I'm not so sure. I mean, like I said, it's hard to separate them. It's not her fault. I mean, she's had to tolerate the same sort of problems from him, you know, I guess over time. But I would say that it's more a question of the entire Democrat Party, who says there's a war on women and that somehow the other party is committing this, and yet they support and defend a guy who really, in the workplace, was doing something that was inexcusable, should not be tolerated. And so really there's a question of hypocrisy. And I think people don't like hypocrisy. And so we'll see. I don't know if it makes any difference now or not. I just keep answering the questions you all ask me." [CBS This Morning, CBS, 1/29/14]

Rand Paul Suggested It Was Hypocritical Of Democrats To Cast The GOP As Anti-Women While Celebrating Bill Clinton, And Said That Anyone Who Accepted Money From Or Had A Fundraiser With Bill Clinton Should Give It Back. "The Kentucky Republican and likely 2016 presidential candidate is making a habit of ripping former President Bill Clinton, dubbing the 42nd president a 'sexual predator' and suggesting that it is hypocritical of Democrats to cast the GOP as anti-women when they celebrate someone who preyed on women working under him in the workplace. 'They can't have it both ways. And so I really think that anybody who wants to take money from Bill Clinton or have a fundraiser has a lot of explaining to do. In fact, I think they should give the money back,' Mr. Paul said on C-SPAN's 'Newsmakers.' 'If they want to take a position on women's rights, by all means do. But you can't do it and take it from a guy who was using his position of authority to take advantage of young women in the workplace." [Washington Times, 2/9/14]

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES CRITICIZED HILLARY CLINTON FOR PRESENTING
HERSELF AS AN ADVOCATE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS WHILE THE CLINTON
FOUNDATION ACCEPTED DONATIONS FROM COUNTRIES WITH POOR WOMEN'S
RIGHTS RECORDS

Carly Fiorina On Secretary Clinton: "She Tweets About Women's Rights In This Country And Takes Money From Governments That Deny Women The Most Basic Human Rights." [Politico, 2/26/15]

Rand Paul: "There Is Indeed A War On Women...In Saudi Arabia...When Hillary Clinton Claims She Will Support Women's Rights, Ask Her Why She Accepted Millions Of Dollars" From The Saudis. "Sen. Rand Paul, who's long been a fierce critic of

Hillary Clinton, will call on the former secretary of state to return contributions made from Saudi Arabia to her family's foundation. In a Friday night speech in New Hampshire, the Kentucky Republican will say there's been a 'war on women...in Saudi Arabia' and will urge Clinton to denounce contributions from the country to the Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton Foundation. 'There has been much talk of a war on women. There is indeed a war on women . . . in Saudi Arabia,' he will say, according to an excerpt of his prepared remarks. 'When Hillary Clinton claims she will support women's rights, ask her why she accepted millions of dollars from (Saudi Arabia).'" [CNN, 3/20/15]

FIORINA ATTACKED CLINTON FOR PUSHING EQUAL PAY LAWS DESPITE AN APPARENTLY POOR RECORD ON EQUAL PAY IN CLINTON'S SENATE OFFICE

Carly Fiorina On Secretary Clinton: "She Tweets About Equal Pay For Women But Won't Answer Basic Questions About Her Own Offices' Pay Standards." [Politico, 2/26/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

THEN-FIRST LADY CLINTON ADVOCATED FOR WOMEN ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE

New York Times: In A 1995 Speech To The Fourth World Conference On Women In Beijing, Hillary Clinton "Gave A Devastating Litany Of Abuse Afflicting Women Around The World And Declared: 'Human Rights Are Women's Rights, And Women's Rights Are Human Rights.'" "Both events explicitly invoke Mrs. Clinton's forceful speech in Beijing as first lady in 1995, at the Fourth World Conference on Women, when she gave a devastating litany of abuse afflicting women around the world and declared: 'Human rights are women's rights, and women's rights are human rights.' The Beijing speech has been a touchstone for Mrs. Clinton since she stepped down as secretary of state in early 2013." [New York Times, 3/8/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON CHAMPIONED WOMEN'S RIGHTS DURING HER TENURE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT BY ELEVATING THE ROLE OF WOMEN'S ISSUES IN DIPLOMACY AND OVERSEEING PROGRAMS THAT DIRECTLY ASSISTED WOMEN ACROSS THE WORLD

New York Times: Secretary Clinton "Appointed A Close Aide, Melanne Verveer, As The First United States Ambassador At Large For Global Women's Issues." "At the State Department, Mrs. Clinton emphasized how empowering women and girls could also enhance economies, national security and the overall progress of a country. She appointed a close aide, Melanne Verveer, as the first United States ambassador at large for global women's issues." [New York Times, 3/8/15]

<u>Politico</u>: Clinton Is "The Secretary Of State Who Elevated The Office Of Global Women's Issues To The Seventh Floor Of The State Department With A Special 'Ambassador At Large' [And]...Mandated Gender Training For All New Foreign-Service Officers." "The idea that Hillary Clinton simply doesn't sincerely believe in her own doctrine just doesn't tally with her rhetorical and substantive support for women and women's rights across decades of public service. After all, this is the secretary of state who elevated the Office of Global Women's Issues to the seventh floor of the State Department with a special 'ambassador at large,' who mandated gender training for all new foreign-service officers and under whom USAID programming for women mushroomed." [Politico, 3/17/15]

National Journal: "The Office Of Global Women's Issues Runs Some 70 Public-Private Partnership Programs In 40 Countries" That Benefit African Textile Workers, Victims Of Sexual Violence In Congo, And Rural Workers Seeking Microloans. "The result has been high-level international advocacy for women and a department-wide proliferation of programs addressing the problems of women and girls. The department's Middle East Partnership Initiative, for instance, has trained Egyptian women to be online activists and has tried to reduce child marriages in Yemen. The Office of Global Women's Issues runs some 70 public-private partnership programs in 40 countries, ranging from teaching African women how to export their textiles and agricultural products, to training rural health providers in Congo in how to assist female victims of sexual violence, and offering micro-finance loans (in the form of pigs) to improve rural women's economic stability." [National Journal, 3/21/13]

New York Times: Secretary Clinton's Behind The Scenes Work On Behalf Of Women Included Her Successful Intervention "When Saudi Arabian Courts Refused A Mother's Pleas To Block The Marriage Of Her 8-Year-Old Daughter To A 50-Year-Old Man." "At the State Department, Mrs. Clinton emphasized how empowering women and girls could also enhance economies, national security and the overall progress of a country... Some of that work was behind the scenes, however. In her memoir, 'Hard Choices,' Mrs. Clinton tells of quietly intervening when Saudi Arabian courts refused a mother's pleas to block the marriage of her 8-year-old daughter to a 50-year-old man. 'Fix this on your own, and I won't say a word,' she recalled telling the Saudis. A new judge, she wrote, quickly approved the divorce." [New York Times, 3/8/15]

National Journal: Secretary Clinton "Placed Women's Rights And Needs On The Agenda At International Conferences, On Trips, And Throughout The State Department Itself." "Clinton and her handpicked ambassador-at-large for global women's issues, Melanne Verveer, placed women's rights and needs on the agenda at international conferences, on trips, and throughout the State Department itself. Clinton institutionalized this way of conducting foreign policy in 2010 in a first-time 'quadrennial review' that mentioned women more than 100 times, followed by a March 2012 directive billed as the department's first-ever guidance to embassies and bureaus on how to advance the 'strategic imperative' of gender equality. 'The department is focusing across all of our work to reduce disparities and proactively promote gender equality,' the directive said." [National Journal, 3/21/13]

National Journal: Secretary Clinton Issued "The Department's First-Ever Guidance To Embassies And Bureaus On How To Advance The 'Strategic Imperative' Of Gender Equality." "Clinton and her handpicked ambassador-at-large for global women's issues, Melanne Verveer, placed women's rights and needs on the agenda at international conferences, on trips, and throughout the State Department itself. Clinton institutionalized this way of conducting foreign policy in 2010 in a first-time 'quadrennial review' that mentioned women more than 100 times, followed by a March 2012 directive billed as the department's first-ever guidance to embassies and bureaus on how to advance the 'strategic imperative' of gender equality. 'The department is focusing across all of our work to reduce disparities and proactively promote gender equality,' the directive said." [National Journal, 3/21/13]

National Journal: Secretary Clinton And Ambassador-At-Large Verveer "Were Insistent Advocates For Afghan Women, Making Sure They Had A Presence At Peace Talks And International Conferences About The Future Of Afghanistan." "Clinton and her handpicked ambassador-at-large for global women's issues, Melanne Verveer, placed women's rights and needs on the agenda at international conferences, on trips, and throughout the State Department itself...Both Clinton and Verveer were insistent

advocates for Afghan women, making sure they had a presence at peace talks and international conferences about the future of Afghanistan." [National Journal, 3/21/13]

THE CLINTON FOUNDATION SUPPORTED PROGRAMS TO HELP MILLIONS OF WOMEN AND GIRLS ACROSS THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE NO CEILINGS INITIATIVE LED BY SECRETARY CLINTON

Clinton Spokesman Merrill Highlighted The Work Of The Clinton Foundation In The Areas Of "Haiti, Global Health, Women And Girls & No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project, Childhood Obesity, Economic Development, Climate Change, Clinton Global Initiative, Too Small To Fail, Job One." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

<u>Clinton Foundation</u>: "CGI Members Have Formed Partnerships That Have Made Tremendous...Improving Educational Opportunities For 36.5 Million People; Expanding Access To Capital For 3.1 Million People; And Increasing Opportunities Of Various Kinds For 2.8 Million Women And Girls." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

Clinton Foundation: As Part Of A CGI Commitment, "The Inter-American Development Bank...Is Projected To Help 500,000 Disadvantaged Youth Enter The Workforce Over The Next Five Years...More Than Half Of These Will Be Women And Girls." "The Inter-American Development Bank is working with corporate partners, including Microsoft, Caterpillar, and Walmart to implement an employment program across ten Latin American countries. This work began a year ago and is projected to help 500,000 disadvantaged youth enter the workforce over the next five years. More than half of these will be women and girls." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

HEADLINE: "Hillary Clinton Announces 'No Ceilings' Initiative To Empower Women" [Washington Post, <u>11/1/13</u>]

Clinton Foundation: "No Ceilings Brings Together Global Partners To Build An Evidence-Based Case For Full Participation And Accelerate Progress For Women And Girls." "No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project is an initiative led by Secretary Clinton and Chelsea Clinton to advance the full participation of women and girls around the world. Access to equal rights and opportunities for women and girls is the unfinished business of the 21st century and is essential for achieving prosperity, stability, and security across the globe. No Ceilings brings together global partners to build an evidence-based case for full participation and accelerate progress for women and girls." [Annual Report, Clinton Foundation, 2014]

AS A SENATOR, CLINTON INTRODUCED AND CO-SPONSORED PAYCHECK FAIRNESS LEGISLATION

Then-Senator Clinton Introduced The Paycheck Fairness Act In 2005 And 2007. [S.841, 109th Congress, introduced 4/19/05; S.766, 110th Congress, introduced 3/6/07]

Then-Senator Clinton Co-Sponsored The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act Of 2009. [S.181, 111th Congress, co-sponsored 1/8/09]

2016ER VULNERABILITIES

TED CRUZ PORTRAYED BILL CLINTON AS AN ASSET TO HILLARY CLINTON'S POTENTIAL PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

Ted Cruz: "Hillary's Greatest Strength Is Bill Clinton." "The comment came as the culmination of a discussion about how a conservative who ran for president with a populist

campaign message could beat Hillary Clinton in 2016. Cruz said that 'Hillary's greatest strength is Bill Clinton,' insofar as she can evoke the 1990s and portray herself as a moderate in the mold of her husband. The association with Bill Clinton is a double-edged sword, though, he suggested." [National Review, 2/26/15]

LGBT

CONSERVATIVE ATTACKS

<u>Wall Street Journal</u>'s Jason Riley: "Only One Side Is Really Guilty Of Hypocrisy... Hillary Clinton Who Opposed Gay Marriage Until Two Years Ago Is Tweeting About Indiana's Intolerance." "Well, both sides are claiming intolerance here. But I think only one side is really guilty of hypocrisy. And that's what I see going on here. Hillary Clinton who opposed gay marriage until two years ago is tweeting about Indiana's intolerance. The Democratic governor of Connecticut who banned state employees from traveling to Indiana even though Connecticut has essentially the same law in place. So that's what I think is going on here. It is the height of hypocrisy, positions held just a few years ago by Democrats are now considered anti-gay and bigotry in place." [Fox News Sunday, Fox News, 4/5/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

SECRETARY CLINTON HAS WON THE SUPPORT OF MAJOR LGBT ADVOCACY GROUPS, INCLUDING THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN AND EQUALITY CALIFORNIA

Human Rights Campaign VP: "We Feel This Incredible Attachment" To Secretary Clinton. "I have seen grown, adult men and women weep at the possibility of her becoming the next president,' said Fred Sainz, vice president of Human Rights Campaign, who said he has friends in the gay community who are saving money so they can afford to volunteer on a future potential Clinton campaign. 'We feel this incredible attachment to her. In spite of tremendous challenges, she's persisted and that's a quality that LGBT people identify with.'" [Daily Beast, 7/21/14]

<u>Daily Beast</u>: "LGBT Activists Say That Clinton Has Been A Loyal Ally" In The Senate And State Department. "On other matters [besides marriage equality], LGBT activists say that Clinton has been a loyal ally dating back to her time in the U.S. Senate, when she worked to lift restrictions on gay and lesbian couples adopting children. As Secretary of State, she gave a famous speech in Geneva in which she declared that 'Gay rights are human rights' and directed the State Department to offer equal benefits to samesex partners." [Daily Beast, 7/21/14]

Metro Weekly: In March 2015, The 800,000 Member Equality California Became "The First LGBT-Rights Group To Endorse Clinton's Anticipated Candidacy." "Although she has yet to formally announce her candidacy, Hillary Clinton has already garnered her first 2016 presidential endorsement by an LGBT-rights organization. Equality California announced their endorsement of Clinton for president on Monday, making the 800,000 member organization the first LGBT-rights group to endorse Clinton's anticipated candidacy. 'We want Hillary Clinton to run and are ready to mobilize our 800,000 members to help her win,' said Equality California Executive Director Rick Zbur in a statement. 'We're enthusiastic about her candidacy because she has the best record of accomplishment on LGBT issues of any potential candidate. Equality California is ready for Hillary!'" [Metro Weekly, 3/16/15]

DURING HER TENURE AS SECRETARY OF STATE, CLINTON PUT LGBT RIGHTS AND PROTECTIONS AT THE FOREFRONT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY...

New York Times: "In Her Four Years At The State Department, [Secretary Clinton] Prioritized International Gay Rights." "It's a sentiment often expressed as gay voters mull what Mrs. Clinton's potential 2016 presidential campaign would mean for gay rights. In her four years at the State Department, she prioritized international gay rights, including a 2011 speech in Geneva in which she urged countries to accept gays and lesbians. In the year and a half since she left her post, she has made gay rights a focus. Last fall she accepted an award at the Elton John AIDS Foundation gala in New York; the singer praised Mrs. Clinton's efforts for human rights." [New York Times, 8/29/14]

<u>CNN</u>: "Clinton Aides Say She Regularly Raises The Issue In Meetings With Her Counterparts And She Has Instructed Embassies Around The World To Report On Violence And Discrimination Against The LGBT Community." "Gay rights have also taken on a greater role in U.S. foreign policy. Clinton aides say she regularly raises the issue in meetings with her counterparts and she has instructed embassies around the world to report on violence and discrimination against the LGBT community and challenge laws that criminalize LGBT status or conduct." [CNN, 12/6/11]

<u>CNN</u>: As Secretary Of State, "Clinton Announced A \$3 Million Fund To Support Civil Society And Non-Governmental Organization Activists Working On [Gay Rights], As Well As Enhancing Protection For Refugees And Asylum Seekers Who Are Being Persecuted Because Of LGBT Status." "The administration will take treatment of gays into consideration when making decisions on awarding foreign aid...As part of the administration's effort, Clinton announced a \$3 million fund to support civil society and non-governmental organization activists working on the subject, as well as enhancing protection for refugees and asylum seekers who are being persecuted because of LGBT status. Gay rights groups praised the effort as a significant step toward protecting the rights of gays and lesbians around the world." [CNN, 12/6/11]

...PROCLAIMED THAT GAY RIGHTS ARE HUMAN RIGHTS

<u>CNN</u>: "U.S. Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton Challenged Nations Around The World... To Recognize That 'Gay Rights Are Human Rights And Human Rights Are Gay Rights.'" "U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton challenged nations around the world Tuesday to recognize that 'gay rights are human rights and human rights are gay rights,' building on an order by President Barack Obama directing all U.S. agencies to 'promote and protect' the rights of gay people." [CNN, 12/6/11]

Secretary Clinton In December 2009: "Over This Past Year, We Have Elevated Into Our Human Rights Dialogues And Our Public Statements A Very Clear Message About Protecting The Rights Of The LGBT Community Worldwide." [Remarks on the Human Rights Agenda for the 21st Century, State Department, 12/14/09]

<u>CNN</u>: In June 2011, The United Nations Human Rights Council "Passed A Resolution Supporting Equal Rights For All, Regardless Of Sexual Orientation" For Which "The State Department Lobbied Intensively." "In what the State Department is calling an 'historic step' the United Nations Human Rights Council in Geneva Friday passed a resolution supporting equal rights for all, regardless of sexual orientation. The resolution, introduced by South Africa, is the first-ever U.N. resolution on the human rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered persons. It passed with 23 votes in favor, 19 opposed and three abstentions, amidst strong criticism of South Africa by some African nations...The State Department lobbied intensively for the resolution and Nossel says the U.S. was pleased to see African leadership, from South Africa in particular, as well as strong support from South America, Colombia and Brazil. The resolution also will commission the first-ever U.N. report on the challenges that LGBT persons face around the globe and Nossel says the

Obama administration hopes it will 'open a broader international discussion on how to best promote and protect the human rights of LGBT persons,' Nossel says... Secretary of State Hillary Clinton has made gay rights a key focus of the State Department's human rights agenda, expressing her view that 'gay rights are human rights and human rights are gay rights.'" [CNN, 6/17/11]

Secretary Clinton In December 2009: "We Are Particularly Concerned About...
Organized Efforts To Kill And Maim Gays And Lesbians In Some Countries That We Have Spoken Out About, And Also Conveyed Our Very Strong Concerns About To Their Governments...The Governments Need To Pay Much Greater Attention To The Kinds Of Abuses That We've Seen." "Over this past year, we have elevated into our human rights dialogues and our public statements a very clear message about protecting the rights of the LGBT community worldwide. And we are particularly concerned about some of the specific cases that have come to our attention around the world. There have been organized efforts to kill and maim gays and lesbians in some countries that we have spoken out about, and also conveyed our very strong concerns about to their governments – not that they were governmentally implemented or even that the government was aware of them, but that the governments need to pay much greater attention to the kinds of abuses that we've seen in Iraq, for example." [Remarks on the Human Rights Agenda for the 21st Century, State Department, 12/14/09]

...CONDEMNED INTERNATIONAL DISCRIMINATION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST LGBT INDIVIDUALS

<u>CNN</u>: "In An Impassioned Defense Of Such Rights, Clinton Called The Rights Of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, And Transgender People 'Universal' And Criticized Nations That Criminalize Gay Behavior Or Tolerate Abuse Of Gay, Bisexual Or Transgendered People." [CNN, $\frac{12/6}{11}$]

<u>CNN</u>: Secretary "Clinton Said Religious Beliefs And Cultural Practices Are No Excuse For Discriminating Or Tolerating Violence Against Gay People." "Speaking to the U.N. Human Rights Council, before an audience that included diplomats from Arab, African and other countries with poor records on gay rights, Clinton said religious beliefs and cultural practices are no excuse for discriminating or tolerating violence against gay people. 'No practice or tradition trumps the human rights that belong to all of us, and this holds true for inflicting violence on LGBT people,' she said. 'It is a violation of human rights when people are beaten or killed because of their sexual orientation, or because they do not conform to cultural norms about how men and women should look or behave.'" [CNN, 12/6/11]

<u>CNN</u>: Under Secretary Clinton, "The State Department Has Raised Concerns About Proposed Laws In Nigeria That Would Criminalize Conduct, As Well As In Uganda, Which Would Have In Some Cases Applied The Death Penalty." [CNN, 12/6/11]

New York Times: "In June [2014], At The Aspen Ideas Festival, Mrs. Clinton Denounced Russia's Treatment Of Lesbians, Gay Men, Bisexuals And Transgender People." [New York Times, 8/31/14]

<u>State Department</u>: "In December 2010, The State Department Led Efforts At The UN General Assembly To [Successfully] Reinsert Language On Sexual Orientation Into A Resolution On Extrajudicial, Summary, And Arbitrary Executions, After The Language's Removal In Committee." "In December 2010, the State Department led efforts at the UN General Assembly to reinsert language on sexual orientation into a resolution on extrajudicial, summary, and arbitrary executions, after the language's removal

in committee. The amendment was approved by a 93-55 margin." [State Department, 12/6/11]

...AND INSTITUTED LGBT PROTECTIONS AT STATE DEPARTMENT

CNN's Frida Ghitis: Thanks To Secretary Clinton, "Today, American Diplomats, As Part Of Their Official Mandate And As An Explicit Tenet Of U.S. Values, Must Speak Up For The Rights Of Individuals Experiencing Persecution On The Basis Of Their Sexual Orientation." "In doing this, she announced it was now the official policy of the U.S. government to promote the rights of LGBT people everywhere. Clinton has always been a couple of steps ahead of President Barack Obama when it comes to gay rights. It's a safe bet she persuaded him to jump on board and put the full force of the administration behind this new policy...Today, American diplomats, as part of their official mandate and as an explicit tenet of U.S. values, must speak up for the rights of individuals experiencing persecution on the basis of their sexual orientation, as when a couple were sentenced in Cameroon for 'looking' gay." [Frida Ghitis, CNN, 2/7/13]

New York Times: Secretary Clinton "Asked American Diplomats To Raise The Issue Wherever Harassment Or Abuse Arises And Required A Record Of Them In The State Department's Annual Report On Human Rights." "The administration's announcement formalizes several steps that Mrs. Clinton has already ordered. She has asked American diplomats to raise the issue wherever harassment or abuse arises and required a record of them in the State Department's annual report on human rights. On Tuesday, she also announced a \$3 million program to finance gay-rights organizations to combat discrimination, violence and other abuses." [New York Times, 12/6/11]

State Department: "In June 2010, Secretary Clinton Revised State Department Equal Employment Opportunity Policy [And]... Explicitly Added Protection Against Discriminatory Treatment Of Employees And Job Applicants Based On Gender Identity." "In June 2010, Secretary Clinton revised State Department equal employment opportunity policy. As the previous policy prohibited discrimination based on sexual orientation, the new policy explicitly added protection against discriminatory treatment of employees and job applicants based on gender identity." [State Department, 12/6/11]

State Department: "As One Of Her First Acts In Office, Secretary Clinton Directed A Review Of Whether The State Department Could Extend Additional Benefits To Domestic Partners," Which The Department Eventually Did. "As one of her first acts in office, Secretary Clinton directed a review of whether the State Department could extend additional benefits to domestic partners. Following President Obama's 2009 memorandum on same-sex domestic partners' benefits, the State Department announced extension of the full range of legally available benefits and allowances to same-sex domestic partners of Foreign Service staff serving abroad." [State Department, 12/6/11]

AFTER LEAVING THE STATE DEPARTMENT, SECRETARY CLINTON ANNOUNCED HER PERSONAL SUPPORT FOR MARRIAGE EQUALITY

<u>Politico</u>: In March 2013, "Former Secretary Of State Hillary Clinton Endorsed Gay Marriage On Monday, Saying She Supports It 'Personally, And As A Matter Of Policy And Law.'" "In a move that could have implications for a 2016 White House campaign, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton endorsed gay marriage on Monday, saying she supports it 'personally, and as a matter of policy and law.'" [Politico, 3/18/13]

Secretary Clinton: "I Made A Very Clear Statement When I Got Out Of The State Department. I Was Free To Comment On Domestic Political Issues That I Fully Support Marriage Equality." "I made a very clear statement when I got out of the State

Department. I was free to comment on domestic political issues that I fully support marriage equality. That like most Americans I know, my views have changed over time. I think evolved is the word that a lot of people have used. It fits me as well as it fits others." [CNN Town Hall, 6/17/14]

Secretary Clinton: Marriage "Should Be Available To Everyone Regardless Of Who They Love." "In large measure, based on the experiences that I had with so many people who I knew and cared about, and it really became very clear to me that if we're going to support marriage in our country, it should be available to everyone regardless of who they love and that this marriage equality issue is a great human rights issue." [CNN Town Hall, 6/17/14]

Secretary Clinton: "I'm Very, Very Proud To State That I'm A Full Supporter Of Marriage Equality." [CNN Town Hall, 6/17/14]

<u>CNN</u>'s Frida Ghitis: "[Secretary] Clinton Has Always Been A Couple Of Steps Ahead Of President Barack Obama When It Comes To Gay Rights." [Frida Ghitis, CNN, 1/30/13]

SECRETARY CLINTON SPOKE OUT AGAINST STATE LAWS THAT ALLOWED DISCRIMINATION AGAINST LGBT AMERICANS

Secretary Clinton: "Like IN Law, AR Bill Goes Beyond Protecting Religion, Would Permit Unfair Discrimination Against #LGBT Americans...I Urge Governor To Veto." [Twitter, @HillaryClinton, 4/1/15]

CLINTON FOUNDATION

2016ER ATTACKS

MANY REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES ATTACKED SECRETARY CLINTON OVER FOREIGN DONATIONS TO HER FAMILY'S FOUNDATION, WITH SOME CALLING ON HER TO GIVE THE MONEY BACK

Rand Paul Said That Hillary Clinton Accepting Foreign Donations Gave The Appearance Of Foreign Countries Buying Influence With Someone Who Was Possibly Running For President. ED BERLINER: "Earlier today we spoke one-on-one with the controversial senator who was in no mood to hold back on comments about the president and former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton." RAND PAUL: "The emails don't bother me as much as several other things. The main thing that bothers me, and I think should preclude her from being considered for the presidency, is that she didn't defend our mission in Benghazi. She was asked repeatedly for security, didn't defend the consulate there and then we, I think as a consequence, I think lost our ambassador there. The other that's come out recently that really bothers me is that she's taking foreign donations from the heads of foreign states from I guess different sovereign funds, but basically foreign countries for her foundation. And I think this almost, it has the appearance anyway, whether it's true or not, it has the appearance of foreign countries buying influence with someone who could potentially run for the presidency. So I think there's a lot of things she's going to have to answer. And really some of her behavior I think really should make a lot of Americans think twice about whether or not they ought to consider her." [Midpoint, Newsmax TV, 3/3/15]

Rand Paul Said That The Clinton Foundation Taking Gifts From Foreign Countries Did Not Look Good And That There Was A Constitutional Provision Saying That You Could Not Take Gifts From Foreign Countries. "Paul said that he thought the issue of the Clinton Foundation accepting foreign government donations last year without announcing the policy change, another scandal afflicting the Clinton operation this winter, is more important than the issue of her email usage as secretary of state. 'There's a constitutional provision that says you can't take gifts from foreign countries,' Paul said. 'Also it just doesn't look very good even if you say it's a foundation and it wasn't personally.'" [Buzzfeed, 3/6/15]

Rand Paul Said That Hillary Clinton Accepting A Significant Amount Of Money From Saudi Arabia Through Her Foundation Would Bring Up The Question Of Whether She Was Compromised As A Potential Head Of State. "Asked if the Clinton Foundation taking of foreign donations could compromise Clinton as a potential head of state, Paul said, 'Taking a million dollars from Saudi Arabia, I don't know how much she got from them, but taking a significant amount of money from foreign countries in the middle east, it would definitely bring up the question.'" [Buzzfeed, 3/6/15]

Rand Paul Said There Were Questions About Hillary Clinton's Foundation Taking Foreign Donations Because The Constitution Explicitly Forbid You From Accepting Foreign Gifts While Secretary Of State. "The potential 2016 GOP presidential contender said he's concerned about the recent news that she conducted her business as secretary of state exclusively via private email, but that he was also concerned about recent revelations that the Clinton Foundation accepted donations from foreign governments while she was serving as the country's top diplomat. 'The Constitution actually explicitly forbids you as a senator or as a secretary of state from taking foreign gifts — it's actually directly in the constitution,' Mr. Paul said. 'Now, she's probably going to maintain this was a foundation, but that means that she needs to now release where all the money is spent in the foundation. Did she take any plane flights paid for by the foundation? Did she have any hotel stays paid for by the foundation? Are any of her chauffeurs, limousines or mansions paid for out of her foundation?' 'All that's gonna have to be public since she's been taking foreign money to make sure that she can reassure us that she hasn't broken the law,' he said." [Washington Times, 3/6/15]

Rand Paul Questioned If Hillary Clinton's Foundation Paid For Any Of Her Flights, Hotels, Limousines Or Mansions, Saving The Finances Needed To Be Made Public To Make Sure She Had Not Broken The Law By Letting Her Foundation Accept Foreign Donations. "The potential 2016 GOP presidential contender said he's concerned about the recent news that she conducted her business as secretary of state exclusively via private email, but that he was also concerned about recent revelations that the Clinton Foundation accepted donations from foreign governments while she was serving as the country's top diplomat. 'The Constitution actually explicitly forbids you as a senator or as a secretary of state from taking foreign gifts — it's actually directly in the constitution,' Mr. Paul said. 'Now, she's probably going to maintain this was a foundation, but that means that she needs to now release where all the money is spent in the foundation. Did she take any plane flights paid for by the foundation? Did she have any hotel stays paid for by the foundation? Are any of her chauffeurs, limousines or mansions paid for out of her foundation?' 'All that's gonna have to be public since she's been taking foreign money to make sure that she can reassure us that she hasn't broken the law,' he said." [Washington Times, <u>3/6/15</u>]

Jeb Bush Responded To The Words "Hillary Clinton" With "Foreign Fundraising," And "Barack Obama" With "Failed President." "Some of those who remained weren't convinced. When Hannity brought up immigration they booed, prompting Bush to quip, 'I'm marking you down as neutral, and I want to be your second choice.' It was a good line, and

Bush delivered other zingers too. Asked to respond to the words 'Hillary Clinton,' he replied 'foreign fund-raising,' a barbed reference to a Washington Post story, published earlier this week, reporting that the Clinton Foundation raised money from overseas governments during Hillary's tenure as Secretary of State. When Hannity said 'Barack Obama,' Bush replied 'failed President.'" [New Yorker, 2/27/15]

Walker Said There Were "Real Questions" To Ask Hillary Clinton About The Money She And Her Foundation Received That Was Tied To Foreign Interests. "HANNITY: 'Hillary Clinton.' Walker: 'Trouble ... Now we learned that she was supposedly -- you know, and I think there are real questions that need to be asked in terms of the money she and her foundation received that's tied to foreign interests.'" [Hannity, Fox News, 2/26/15]

Responding To Reports That The Clinton Foundation Took Donations From Foreign Countries While Hillary Clinton Was In Office, Rick Perry Said Clinton Failed The Question Of Common Sense. "And Perry is not afraid of ripping the bark off the likely Democratic nominee. On the issue of Hillary Clinton's foundation taking donations from foreign countries even while she was in office, he says, 'The question needs to be answered whether you can legally take the money. There's the legality. But on the question of common sense, she fails.' He says merely promising you won't take money in the future is not sufficient. 'I don't think the American people will accept that.' He concedes that the left will probably rally her around Clinton, which appears to be just fine with Perry. He is ready for the presidential 'marathon,' as he describes it. His opponents need to make certain they are up to speed — especially on national security." [Jennifer Rubin, Washington Post, 2/26/15]

Rick Perry Questioned Hillary Clinton's Loyalty When Attacking Her Foundation's Donations From Foreign Governments. "BASH: You have talked about some questionable donations to the Clinton foundation. What exactly do you think is wrong with these donations? Why does it raise questions for you? PERRY: I think most Americans realize that a phone call at 3:00 in the morning to the president of the United States about an issue that deals with a foreign country that is given maybe tens of millions of dollars to the foundation that she oversees is not right. And it's not only the appearance of impropriety, it's also the ethical side of this that I think most Americans really have a problem with. And I'm really concerned about not just going forward but what has been received at the Clinton foundation over the course of years and how that affects this individual's judgment. BASH: She was secretary of state so you could argue that she sort of, you know -- that they're going from the pool that she's familiar with, if that makes sense. PERRY: You can argue that, but I think it falls flat in the face of the American people when it comes to arguing are you going to trust an individual who has taken that much money from a foreign source where is their loyalty." [Rick Perry Interview, State of the Union, Fox News, 3/1/15]

Jindal Called On Hillary Clinton To Return Foreign Money Donated To The Clinton Foundation Claiming The Donations Undermined Her Credibility. "Louisiana Gov. Bobby Jindal weighed in Monday on the controversy surrounding donations by foreign governments to the Clinton Foundation, calling on Hillary Clinton to return the money in light of her likely bid for president. 'I don't think the practice of her foundation accepting those donations is appropriate at all. I think they should return them, and I think it undermines her credibility,' Jindal, a likely Republican candidate for president, told the Washington Examiner. 'If she does aspire to be president, if she does want to be in position of making foreign policy again, taking these donations from foreign governments ... is bad both in perception and actuality.'" [Washington Examiner, 2/23/15]

CLINTON FOUNDATION ANNOUNCED THAT SHOULD HILLARY CLINTON DECIDE TO RUN FOR PRESIDENT, THE FOUNDATION WOULD FOLLOW APPROPRIATE PROCEDURES FOR ACCEPTING DONATIONS FROM FOREIGN DONATIONS, JUST LIKE IT HAD HAD UNDER SECRETARY CLINTON...

Clinton Foundation: "Should Secretary Clinton Decide To Run For Office, We Will Continue To Ensure The Foundation's Policies And Practices Regarding Support From International Partners Are Appropriate, Just As We Did When She Served As Secretary Of State." "Like other global charities, the Clinton Foundation receives support from individuals, organizations and governments from all over the world. Contributions are made because the Foundation's programs improve the lives of millions of people around the globe. The Clinton Foundation has a record of transparency that goes above what is required of U.S. charities. This includes the voluntary disclosure of contributions on the Foundation's website. Should Secretary Clinton decide to run for office, we will continue to ensure the Foundation's policies and practices regarding support from international partners are appropriate, just as we did when she served as Secretary of State." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

<u>Wall Street Journal</u>: Clinton Foundation Spokesman Claimed Donors "Go Through A Vigorous Vetting Process." "A spokesman for the Clinton Foundation said the charity has a need to raise money for its many projects, which aim to do such things as improve education, health care and the environment around the world. He also said that donors go through a vigorous vetting process." [Wall Street Journal, <u>2/17/15</u>]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "The Clinton Foundation...Has Said It Will Re-Evaluate Its Contributor Practices If Secretary Clinton Runs, Just As Was Done When She Became Secretary Of State." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

...AND DEFENDED THE FOUNDATION'S GLOBAL WORK THAT WAS SUPPORTED BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENT DONATIONS...

<u>Clinton Foundation</u> Spokesman: Projects "Aim To Do Such Things As Improve Education, Health Care And The Environment Around The World." "A spokesman for the Clinton Foundation said the charity has a need to raise money for its many projects, which aim to do such things as improve education, health care and the environment around the world. He also said that donors go through a vigorous vetting process." [Wall Street Journal, 2/17/15]

Clinton Foundation Spokesman Craig Minassian And Hillary Clinton Spokesman Nick Merrill Sent Around Talking Points To Clinton Allies "In Hopes That You Will Join Us In Defending The Good Work The Foundation Does And Will Continue To Do." "It's been a little while since we've sent one of these, but given the attacks on the Clinton Foundation as of late, we wanted to send around some points in hopes that you will join us in defending the good work the Foundation does and will continue to do." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "In The Last Couple Of Weeks, There Has Been Little Mention Of The Good Work The Foundation Does, And That It Is Without A Doubt A World-Class Philanthropy." "As you've probably seen reading the stories in the last couple of weeks, there has been little mention of the good work the Foundation does, and that it is without a doubt a world-class philanthropy." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill Highlighted The Work Of The Clinton Foundation In The Areas Of "Haiti, Global Health, Women And Girls & No Ceilings: The Full

Participation Project, Childhood Obesity, Economic Development, Climate Change, Clinton Global Initiative, Too Small To Fail, Job One." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "The Clinton Foundation Is A Philanthropy, Period." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: Clinton Foundation Receives "Contributions From Around The World, Because They're Doing Groundbreaking, Life-Changing Work Around The Globe." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: Clinton Foundation Contributions "Are Responsible For Millions Of People Getting Access To Live-Saving HIV/AIDS Treatment." "These contributions are important because they are responsible for millions of people getting access to life-saving HIV/AIDs treatment, more than 40,000 farmers in Malawi, Tanzania, and Rwanda improving their incomes by more than 500 percent; 33,500 tons of greenhouse gas emissions being reduced annually across the U.S.; supporting the Clinton Global Initiative whose members have made nearly 3,100 Commitments to Action to improving more than 430 million lives around the world and so much more. The list goes on." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "Without These Contributions... Fewer People Would Have Access To Affordable HIV/AIDS Medication; Fewer People Would Have Access To Clean Water...And Fewer Children In The US Would Have Access To Healthy Foods." "Without these contributions, it's clear what would have happened – fewer people would have access to affordable HIV/AIDS medication; fewer people would have access to clean water; fewer economic opportunities would be made available in developing communities in nations across Africa, Asia, and South; and fewer children in the US would have access to healthy foods." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: It Is "Important To Acknowledge That After Much Scrutiny, And When You Cast Aside Those Whose Goal It Is To Make Political Hay, That This Is A Philanthropy, Widely Recognized As A Successful One, And It Does An Enormous Amount Of Good." "The bottom line: The ability to fund the Foundation is the ability to improve the lives of millions of people across the world. And while it's appropriate to raise questions to ensure that money is being used as efficiently as possible to achieve its mission, it's just as important to acknowledge that after much scrutiny, and when you cast aside those whose goal it is to make political hay, that this is a philanthropy, widely recognized as a successful one, and it does an enormous amount of good that the people who founded it and work there should be nothing but immensely proud of. Period." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "The Work Of The Clinton Foundation Is Effective, Which Is Why It Has Bipartisan Support From Places Like News Corporation [And] Chris Ruddy Of NewsMax." "The work of the Clinton Foundation is effective, which is why it has bipartisan support from places like News Corporation, Chris Ruddy of NewsMax, and counts among its contributors and CGI participants President George H.W. Bush, Laura Bush, Condi Rice, John McCain, Mitt Romney, Carly Fiorina, and dozens of governors and mayors from both sides of the aisle." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "Every Penny Of The Money Algeria Donated For Haiti Went To Help Haiti." "Every penny of the money Algeria donated for Haiti went to help Haiti. People forget about the outpouring of support for those debased by the earthquake and the need to get money and supplies there quickly. The United Nations asked President Clinton to head Haiti relief and encouraged countries to support the effort. President Bush partnered with WJC to set up the Bush-Clinton Haiti Fund in part because the Clinton

Foundation had an expertise in addressing such challenges efficiently and effectively - as they previously did with the Tsunami is SE Asia." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "When People Call For The Donations To Be Returned, They Are Dismissing The Fact That Lives Will Be Affected, Even Lost." "People are trying to make this political forget the human toll of HIV/AIDs or earthquakes or that as governments have fewer resources around the world. That's exactly where NGO's need to step into the void to help improve people's lives. When people call for the donations to be returned, they are dismissing the fact that lives will be affected, even lost." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

...AND EMPHASIZED THE UNUSUALLY HIGH LEVEL TRANSPARENCY SURROUNDING THE FOUNDATION'S DONATIONS

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: "Unlike Many Other Similar Charities, The Foundation Voluntarily Discloses All Of Its Contributors' Names, Right On The Clinton Foundation Website." "Let's remember why journalists are able to dig through all these records. Because unlike many other similar charities, the Foundation voluntarily discloses all of its contributors' names, right on the Clinton Foundation website. And it refuses to take anonymous contributions. No charity is required to do these, but the Clinton Foundation does it, on its own accord." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: Clinton Foundation "Refuses To Take Anonymous Contributions." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

Clinton Spokesman Merrill: Clinton Foundation "Counts Among Its Contributors And CGI Participants President George H.W. Bush, Laura Bush, Condi Rice, John McCain, Mitt Romney, Carly Fiorina, And Dozens Of Governors And Mayors From Both Sides Of The Aisle." [Nick Merrill, 3/2/15]

AS THE CLINTON FOUNDATION CAME UNDER INCREASING FIRE FOR FOREIGN DONATIONS, FOUNDATION OFFICIALS PROMOTED POSITIVE OUTCOMES FROM PARTNERSHIPS THROUGH ITS GLOBAL INITIATIVE

<u>Clinton Foundation</u>: "Since CGI Was Created In 2005, CGI Members Have Made Nearly 3,200 Commitments To Improve More Than 430 Million Lives In 180 Countries." "Here are the facts: since CGI was created in 2005, CGI members have made nearly 3,200 commitments to improve more than 430 million lives in 180 countries. These commitments are helping address issues such as climate change, economic development, global health, access to education, and the empowerment of women and girls." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

Clinton Foundation: As Part Of A CGI Commitment, "Procter & Gamble Has Provided 7.5 Billion Liters Of Clean Water At No Cost To Those Who Need It Most In More Than 70 Countries Worldwide." "Several commitments by Procter & Gamble to provide safe drinking water to millions in need of clean water, by scaling up production of clean water packets and distribute them with the help of NGOs around the world. So far, Procter & Gamble has provided 7.5 billion liters of clean water at no cost to those who need it most in more than 70 countries worldwide." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

<u>Clinton Foundation</u>: As Part Of A CGI Commitment, "The Inter-American Development Bank...Is Projected To Help 500,000 Disadvantaged Youth Enter The Workforce Over The Next Five Years...More Than Half Of These Will Be Women And Girls." "The Inter-American Development Bank is working with corporate partners, including Microsoft, Caterpillar, and Walmart to implement an employment program across

ten Latin American countries. This work began a year ago and is projected to help 500,000 disadvantaged youth enter the workforce over the next five years. More than half of these will be women and girls." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

<u>Clinton Foundation</u>: A Commitment By "The UTeach Institute...With ExxonMobil, The Carnegie Corporation Of New York, And UT Austin...Is Projected To Produce 10,000 STEM Teachers From 34 Universities By 2020." "The UTeach Institute has partnered with ExxonMobil, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and UT Austin to educate STEM teachers. This commitment is projected to produce 10,000 STEM teachers from 34 universities by 2020, and it is expanding to ten additional universities with support from the Howard Hughes Medical Institute." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

Clinton Foundation: "Nike Made A CGI Commitment To Create And Fund The Coalition For Adolescent Girls (CAG), A Group That Brings Together International Organizations To Invest In Girls To Promote Their Social And Economic Development." "Nike made a CGI commitment to create and fund the Coalition for Adolescent Girls (CAG), a group that brings together international organizations to invest in girls to promote their social and economic development. Since its creation, over 50 organizations have come together to bring their perspectives and resources to bear on a variety of issues. CAG members have launched programs that promote education and literacy, provide vocational training, and prevent teenage pregnancy." [Clinton Foundation, 2/19/15]

THE CLINTON FOUNDATION SPENDS TENS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS EACH YEAR ON DIRECT PROGRAM EXPENDITURES

2013: The Clinton Foundation Spent \$29,389,026 On Direct Program Expenditures. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, $\frac{11}{19}$]

2012: The Clinton Foundation Spent \$15,727,680 On Direct Program Expenditures. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, 11/19/14]

THE CLINTON FOUNDATION AWARDS MILLIONS IN GRANTS TO CHILDHOOD OBESITY PROGRAMS AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS TO HENDRIX COLLEGE

2013: The Clinton Foundation Gave \$2.3 Million To The Alliance For A Healthier Generation For Childhood Obesity Programs. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, 11/19/14]

2012: The Clinton Foundation Gave \$2.016 Million To The Alliance For A Healthier Generation For Childhood Obesity Programs. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, 9/10/13]

2011: The Clinton Foundation Gave \$2,374,669 To The Alliance For A Healthier Generation For Childhood Obesity Programs. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, 9/28/12]

2013: The Clinton Foundation Gave \$175,000 To Hendrix College For Education Programs. [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, <u>11/19/14</u>]

2011: The Clinton Foundation Gave \$250,000 To Hendrix College For Education **Programs.** [Clinton Foundation, IRS Form 990, 9/28/12]

THE CLINTON FOUNDATION HAS RAISED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN AID TO REBUILD HAITI. INCLUDING ALLOCATIONS FOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Clinton Foundation: "Since 2010, The Clinton Foundation Has Raised A Total Of \$36 Million For Haiti" Including Projects Aimed At "Enhancing Education." "Since 2010, the Clinton Foundation has raised a total of \$36 million for Haiti, including relief funds as well as projects focused on supporting Haiti's small and medium businesses, improving livelihoods, enhancing education and exploring the nexus of agriculture, energy and environment." [Clinton Foundation, accessed 2/9/15]

THE CLINTON FOUNDATION HAS FOCUSED ON A WIDE VARIETY OF CHARITABLE CAUSES AS WELL AS IMPORTANT POLICY DISCUSSIONS

Military Times: "The Nonprofit Clinton Foundation Is Putting Its Political Heft Behind Troop And Veterans Health." "The nonprofit Clinton Foundation is putting its political heft behind troop and veterans health, focusing a portion of its two-day annual Health Matters Summit this week to jump-start yearlong initiatives on military medical care and wellness. In the coming year, the organization will collaborate with organizations, communities and individuals to support veterans health programs. To jump-start its efforts, summit organizers held panel discussions with veterans and veterans groups to discuss the challenges they face and probe possible solutions to support military wellness." [Military Times, 1/27/15]

HEADLINE: "Hillary Clinton Announces 'No Ceilings' Initiative To Empower Women" [Washington Post, <u>11/1/13</u>]

Clinton Foundation: "No Ceilings Brings Together Global Partners To Build An Evidence-Based Case For Full Participation And Accelerate Progress For Women And Girls." "No Ceilings: The Full Participation Project is an initiative led by Secretary Clinton and Chelsea Clinton to advance the full participation of women and girls around the world. Access to equal rights and opportunities for women and girls is the unfinished business of the 21st century and is essential for achieving prosperity, stability, and security across the globe. No Ceilings brings together global partners to build an evidence-based case for full participation and accelerate progress for women and girls." [Annual Report, Clinton Foundation, 2014]

Clinton Foundation: No Ceilings And Its Partners Pledged \$600 Million "To Help 14 Million Girls Receive A Safe And Quality Secondary Education Over The Next Five Years." "CHARGE – the Collaborative for Harnessing Ambition and Resources for Girls' Education – is a \$600 million commitment by No Ceilings and the Center on Universal Education at the Brookings Institution that brings together 30 crosssector partners to help 14 million girls receive a safe and quality secondary education over the next five years. The collaborative will ensure that girls can attend and complete primary and secondary school; make schools safer and more secure; improve the quality of learning; support girls' transition to higher education and employment; and cultivate local leaders to champion this work at the grassroots level." [Annual Report, Clinton Foundation, 2014]

Clinton Foundation: "Too Small To Fail Is Building A Public Action Campaign Focused On Closing [The] Word Gap To Help Ensure That All Children Start School Ready To Learn." "Too Small to Fail, a joint initiative launched in 2013 by the Clinton Foundation and Next Generation, aims to help parents and communities take meaningful actions to improve the health and well-being of children ages zero to five, and prepare them to succeed in the 21st century. Studies show that by age four, children from lower income families hear, on average, 30 million fewer words than their peers from higher income families, creating a 'word gap' that sets them back before they've entered their first

classroom. Working with partners across the country, Too Small to Fail is building a public action campaign focused on closing this word gap to help ensure that all children start school ready to learn." [Annual Report, Clinton Foundation, 2014]

Christian Science Monitor On Secretary Clinton: "The Longtime Children's Advocate Helped Launch The Too Small To Fail Initiative To Promote Ways That Parents, Businesses, And Communities Can Give Children A Better Start In The Critical Years Between Birth And Age 5." "The people who will benefit most from Hillary Rodham Clinton's new life beyond the Beltway are too young to follow her on Twitter. On Friday, the longtime children's advocate helped launch the Too Small to Fail initiative to promote ways that parents, businesses, and communities can give children a better start in the critical years between birth and age 5. The campaign will help publicize research on the relationship between babies' and toddlers' experiences and brain development. It will provide guidance to parents on simple steps to enhance children's health and early learning opportunities. And it aims to secure commitments from private businesses, both through financial investments and through structures that help working parents spend quality time with their children." [Christian Science Monitor, 6/14/13]

Associated Press: "Hillary Rodham Clinton Is Encouraging Companies To Train And Hire Young People...Launching A Project Called 'Job One.'" "Hillary Rodham Clinton is encouraging companies to train and hire young people, offering a new jobs pitch during her family's annual domestic policy summit as she considers another presidential campaign. The former secretary of state was launching a project called 'Job One' at the Clinton Global Initiative America meeting Tuesday, featuring hiring, training and mentoring initiatives from 10 companies, including The Gap, JPMorgan Chase, Microsoft and Marriott." [Associated Press, 6/24/14]

Clinton Foundation: Job One Encouraged Partnerships To "Expand Training, Hiring, Or Mentoring Opportunities For Youth And Build The Business Case For More Companies To Engage Unemployed Youth." "Through Job One, a key focus area of Secretary Clinton's work at the Clinton Foundation, the Foundation is bolstering an often-missed element from our national workforce training conversations: business-designed and led career pathways for opportunity youth – young people who are both out-of-school and out-of-work. By working hand-in-hand with businesses, leading non-profits, economists, and advocates across the country, the Clinton Foundation is helping to identify and scale effective ways for companies to address their core business needs through engaging opportunity youth... In 2014, Job One encouraged and spotlighted 16 Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) Commitments to Action that expand training, hiring, or mentoring opportunities for youth and build the business case for more companies to engage unemployed youth."

[Annual Report, Clinton Foundation, 2014]

PRIVATE EMAILS

2016ER ATTACKS

REPUBLICANS ATTACKED SECRETARY CLINTON FOR USING A PRIVATE EMAIL ADDRESS AND PRIVATE SERVER

Rand Paul Said That Hillary Clinton Using A Personal Email While At The State Department Was "Directly Flouting The Law." BRIAN KILMEADE: "But one of the stories for the last two days headlining is that Senator Hillary -- excuse me -- Secretary of State Hillary Clinton's lack of using the State Department e-mail, using a personal e-mail for four years. And when people request to get it, she has not been handing it over, because she

wasn't using it. Is this a big deal to you?" RAND PAUL: "Yeah. And not only is it the e-mails and directly the flouting the law, I think there's going to be a constitutional question of whether or not she was receiving foreign gifts while in office. The Constitution explicitly says that as a senator or as a Secretary of State, you're not allowed to receive gifts from foreign countries. They've been receiving millions of dollars in their foundation. Now if they're going to say, that's not us, me directly, but do they profit in any way from their foundation, does it pay for their travel, does it pay for any of their expenses? She's got a lot of questions she's going to have answer." [Fox & Friends, Fox News, 3/4/15]

Rand Paul Posted That Hillary Clinton's Use Of Private Email Was The Latest In A Long Line Of Reasons She Should Permanently Retire, Including Benghazi And The Failed War In Libya. "The revelation of Hillary Clinton's private email server for State Department business is just the latest in a long line of reasons why she should permanently retire. Her dereliction of duty in defending our consulate in Benghazi and failed war in Libya should disqualify her from ever becoming President. COMMENT below with 'RETIRE NOW' if you agree!" [Rand Paul, Facebook, 3/9/15]

Rand Paul Said That General Petraeus Pled Guilty To Having Secure Information Unsecured And That Somebody Should Ask Hillary Clinton The Same, If Anything On Her Personal Email Should Have Been On A Secure Server. "There is the question of whether or not if she [Hillary Clinton] has those emails on a personal email and they're talking about secure subjects, whether that's actually compromised,' Paul said. 'And that's what he pled guilty to, what Petraeus pled guilty to, having secure information unsecured.' 'So I think somebody ought to ask the question, whether or not she has anything on the email that should have been on a secure server,' Paul said." [Buzzfeed, 3/6/15]

HEADLINE: "Jeb Bush: 'Baffling' That Hillary Clinton Didn't Consider Security Risk Of Personal E-Mail." [Washington Post, 3/6/15]

Jeb Bush Said Hillary Clinton's Decision To Use A Private Computer Server As Secretary Of State Was "A Little Baffling." "During his conversation with Radio lowa this morning, Bush also commented on the controversy surrounding the private computer server Hillary Clinton used for her email when she was secretary of state. Bush, as Florida's governor, used a private email account and personal server. He still encourages people to send messages to that jeb@jeb.org address, but Bush indicated that, if he's elected president, he would not use a private email account. 'For security purposes, you need to be behind a firewall that recognizes the world for what it is and it's a dangerous world and security would mean that you couldn't have a private server,' Bush said. 'It's a little baffling, to be honest with you, that didn't come up in Secretary Clinton's thought process.'" [Radio lowa, 3/6/15]

Jeb Bush Spokeswoman: "Hillary Clinton Should Release Her Emails. Hopefully She Hasn't Already Destroyed Them...Governor Bush Believes Transparency Is A Critical Part Of Public Service And Of Governing." "A potential rival of Clinton in the presidential campaign, former Gov. Jeb Bush (R-Fla.), called on the former secretary of state to make the collection of emails public. 'Hillary Clinton should release her emails. Hopefully she hasn't already destroyed them,' Bush spokeswoman Kristy Campbell said. 'Governor Bush believes transparency is a critical part of public service and of governing.' Clinton spokesman Nick Merrill emphasized to the Times that emails Clinton sent to other government officials at their official accounts would have been archived as part of those accounts. In her statement, Psaki made the same point." [Politico, 3/2/15]

3/2/15: Jeb Bush Called On Hillary Clinton To Release Her Unclassified Emails Because "Transparency Matters," Noted He Released His. Jeb Bush @JebBush

"Transparency matters. Unclassified @HillaryClinton emails should be released. You can see mine, here. http://jebbushemails.com." [@jebbush, Twitter, 3/3/15]

Jeb Bush Spokeswoman Dismissed Comparisons Between His Personal Email Server And Hillary Clinton's, Noting "His Emails Were Available Via Public Records Requests Throughout His Time In Office And Have Remained Available." "In an email of talking points to supporters, Burns Strider, a senior advisor to Correct the Record, a group that defends Mrs. Clinton in the news media, pointed out that former Gov. Jeb Bush of Florida, also a likely 2016 presidential candidate, also hosts his own personal email server. Mr. Bush is a prolific user of email who continued to use his personal jeb.org domain, which his aides could also access, while he was in the governor's office, said Kristy Campbell, Mr. Bush's spokeswoman. Under Florida's records laws, emails from Mr. Bush's personal account have been made public. 'His emails were available via public records requests throughout his time in office and have remained available,' Ms. Campbell said." [New York Times, 3/4/15]

HEADLINE: "Walker Says Clinton 'Should Answer Questions' About Email Use." [New York Times, 3/5/15]

• Walker: Hillary Clinton's Potential Evasion Of Laws Was Something She Should Answer Questions About. "Gov. Scott Walker of Wisconsin, a likely Republican presidential candidate in 2016, criticized Hillary Rodham Clinton for using a personal email account when she was secretary of state. 'Hillary Clinton's potential evasion of laws is something she should answer questions about,' Mr. Walker said through his spokeswoman, Kirsten Kukowski, in an email." [New York Times, 3/5/15]

HEADLINE: "Walker Rips Clinton For 'Audacity' In Email Scandal." [Weekly Standard, 3/9/15]

- Walker: How Could Hillary Clinton Ensure That Confidential Information Wasn't Compromised? "In an interview Sunday afternoon, Scott Walker strongly criticized Hillary Clinton's exclusive use of private email as secretary of state and rejected accusations that he's guilty of hypocrisy on the issue. 'It's a logical assumption that the secretary of state is talking about highly confidential classified information. How can she ensure that that information wasn't compromised?' Walker told The Weekly Standard following an event with supporters in Des Moines." [Weekly Standard, 3/9/15]
- Walker: The Bigger Issue Was The "Audacity" For Hillary Clinton To Put Her Personal Interest Above The Interests Of The Country. "It's a logical assumption that the secretary of state is talking about highly confidential classified information. How can she ensure that that information wasn't compromised?" Walker told the Weekly Standard following an event with supporters in Des Moines. 'I think that's the bigger issue—is the audacity to think that someone would put their personal interest above classified, confidential, highly sensitive information that's not only important to her but to the United States of America. I think is an outrage that Democrats as well as Republicans should be concerned about.'" [Weekly Standard, 3/9/15]

Rubio On Hillary Clinton Using A Private Email Account When She Was Secretary Of State: "Using A Private Server Outside The Government System Is Extremely Vulnerable, To Hackers And All Sorts Of Foreign Countries That Can Hack In And Get Secrets." KELLY: "All right, let me switch gears with you because there was a lot of news today, we just talked about it, about Hillary Clinton using only, exclusively a personal e-mail account when she's secretary of state. Her team said, this is a nonissue. It's exactly the same thing Colin Powell did which there real questions about but that's what they're saying, there's no there, there. Your take on it?" RUBIO: "Well, there may or may not be

obviously that's something that will have to be further examined. There are two there's that we have to look at. The first is using a private server outside the government system is extremely vulnerable, to hackers and all sorts of foreign countries that can hack in and get secrets. You're Secretary of State, potentially transacting national business on an unsecured server or private server and that leaves our secrets and not on just that but our strategies exposed for the Chinese and the Russian and other intelligence agencies." [Kelly File, Fox News, 3/3/15]

Rubio On Hillary Clinton Using A Private Email Account When She Was Secretary Of State: The State Department Disclosure Rule Was "Clearly Violated." KELLY: "All right, let me switch gears with you because there was a lot of news today, we just talked about it, about Hillary Clinton using only, exclusively a personal e-mail account when she's secretary of state. Her team said, this is a nonissue. It's exactly the same thing Colin Powell did which there real questions about but that's what they're saying, there's no there, there. Your take on it?" [...] RUBIO: "And the other is, the state department has a rule because the diplomatic discourse and so forth, is part of the archives of the United States. So that rule was clearly violated." [Kelly File, Fox News, 3/3/15]

Rubio When Asked If He Would Use Email If He Was In The Executive Branch In 2017: "You Shouldn't Put Anything Into Email You Don't Thinks Going To Be Read By A Foreign Intelligence Agency." "When Rubio was asked whether he'd use email if he were in the executive branch in 2017, his answer focused on security. 'You shouldn't put anything into email you don't thinks going to be read by a foreign intelligence agency. Especially if you're the president of the United States or a candidate for it, it's a real risk,' he said. He added that 'virtually every major presidential campaign in the last two cycles has been hacked by a foreign government or foreign intelligence to some extent, so there's a danger involved in communications because it gives your adversaries insight into your thinking and so forth.'" [CBS News, 3/4/15]

Rubio On Hillary Clinton's Email Controversy At The State Department: If She Was "Transacting State Department Business On An Insecure Server, That Alone Is Reason To Be Alarmed." VAN SUSTEREN: "What about the Hillary Clinton, secretary of state, controversy over the emails?" RUBIO: "Number one, it appears she violated the rules that the State Department had established. But the bigger concern is was she transacting government business on a server that's not secure? Because we know these servers are targets for foreign intelligence. We know the Chinese, the Russians, the North Koreans, the Cubans and others are constantly trying to hack into computers, and especially that of governmental officials. She if was transacting State Department business on an insecure server, that alone is reason to be alarmed." [On the Record w/ Greta van Susteren, Fox News, 3/4/15]

CLINTON DEFENSE

CLINTON RELEASED ABOUT 30,000 WORK RELATED EMAILS TO STATE

DEPARTMENT FROM HER TENURE AS SECRETARY, DECLINING TO TURN OVER ONLY

PERSONAL, PRIVATE EMAILS

New York Times: Secretary Clinton "Turned Over To The Obama Administration All Correspondence About Government Business But Had Erased Records Of About Private Matters." "Hillary Rodham Clinton revealed on Tuesday that she had deleted about half her emails from her years as secretary of state, saying she had turned over to the Obama administration all correspondence about government business but had erased records of communications about private matters, like yoga routines, her daughter's wedding and her mother's funeral...Mrs. Clinton said she turned over some 30,490 emails to

the State Department in December, nearly two years after leaving office." [New York Times, 3/10/15]

Clinton Spokesman: Clinton Provided "30,490 Printed Copies Of Work-Related Emails" To The State Department In December 2014. "On December 5, 2014, 30,490 printed copies of work-related emails sent and received by Secretary Clinton form March 18, 2009 to February 1, 2013 were provided to the Department. This totaled roughly 55,000 pages. About 90% of thee emails were already in the Department's record-keeping system because they were sent to or received by 'state.gov' accounts. [Before March 18, 2009, Secretary Clinton continued using the email account she had used during her Senate service.]" [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

Clinton Spokesman: Secretary Clinton's "Email Account Contained A Total Of 62,320 Sent And Received Emails From March 2009 To February 2013." Secretary Clinton's "email account contained a total of 62,320 sent and received emails from March 2009 to February 2013. Based on the review process described below, 30,490 of these emails were provided to the Department, and the remaining 31,830 were private, personal records." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

Clinton Spokesman: 31,830 Of Secretary Clinton's Emails Were "Private, Personal Records." Secretary Clinton's "email account contained a total of 62,320 sent and received emails from March 2009 to February 2013. Based on the review process described below, 30,490 of these emails were provided to the Department, and the remaining 31,830 were private, personal records." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON ASKED THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO RELEASE THE EMAILS SHE HAD GIVEN THEM AS SOON AS POSSIBLE

Hillary Clinton Asked The State Department To Release Her Emails. "Hillary Clinton broke her 48-hour silence over the use of her personal email account while she served as secretary of state with a late-night tweet Wednesday saying she wants 'the public to see my email.' But her response is unlikely to tamp down the pressure for answers as she faces the deepest scrutiny she's been under since leaving the government. 'I asked State to release them,' Clinton tweeted at 11:35 p.m. ET 'They said they will review them for release as soon as possible.'" [CNN, 3/4/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON INSISTED THAT SHE FOLLOWED EVERY RULE AND WENT "ABOVE AND BEYOND" DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS

<u>Associated Press</u>: Secretary Clinton On State Department Email Regulations: "I Fully Complied By Every Rule I Was Governed By." "I fully complied by every rule I was governed by," Clinton said in her first public comments since it was disclosed last week that she exclusively used a private email and server for government business." [Associated Press, 3/10/15]

Associated Press: Secretary Clinton "Says She Went 'Above And Beyond' What She Was Required To Do As A State Department Employee." "Clinton was answering questions Tuesday for the first time about her email practices as secretary of state. She spoke following a Tuesday afternoon speech at the United Nations. She says she went 'above and beyond' what she was required to do as a State Department employee." [Associated Press, 3/10/15]

THE STATE DEPARTMENT BEGAN REVIEWING SECRETARY CLINTON'S EMAILS FOR RELEASE

State Department Spokeswoman Psaki: "We Will Review The Entire 55,000-Page Set And Release In One Batch At The End Of That Review To Ensure That Standards Are Consistently Applied." "We will review the entire 55,000-page set and release in one batch at the end of that review to ensure that standards are consistently applied throughout the entire 55,000 pages,' Psaki said." [Politico, 3/10/15]

THE STATE DEPARTMENT FIRST ASKED FORMER SECRETARIES OF STATE TO TURN OVER EMAILS CONTAINING OFFICIAL BUSINESS IN OCTOBER 2014, AND SECRETARY CLINTON WAS THE FIRST TO RESPOND

Clinton Spokesman: The State Department "Formally Requested The Assistance Of The Four Previous Secretaries In A Letter To Their Representatives Dated October 28, 2014 To Help In Furtherance Of Meeting The Department's Requirements Under The Federal Records Act." "The [State] Department formally requested the assistance of the four previous Secretaries in a letter to their representatives dated October 28, 2014 to help in furtherance of meeting the Department's requirements under the Federal Records Act. The letter stated that in September 2013, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) issued new guidance clarifying records management responsibilities regarding the use of personal email accounts for government business." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

Clinton Spokesman: Secretary Clinton Was "The First To Respond" To A State Department Letter Requesting Work-Related Emails From Former Secretaries. "Following conversations with Department officials and in response to the Department's October 28, 2014 letter to former Secretaries requesting assistance in meeting the Department's record-keeping requirements, Secretary Clinton directed her attorneys to assist by identifying and preserving all emails that could potentially be federal records. This entailed a multi-step process to provide printed copies of the Secretary's work-related emails to the Department, erring on the side of including anything that might potentially be a federal record. As the State Department has said, Secretary Clinton was the first to respond to this letter." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

MULTIPLE FEDERAL REGULATIONS GRANT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS THE FLEXIBILITY TO DETERMINE WHICH OF THEIR EMAILS COULD BE CONSIDERED PUBLIC RECORDS

Clinton Spokesman: "The Federal Records Act Puts The Obligation On The Government Official To Determine What Is And Is Not A Federal Record," As Does The State Department Foreign Affairs Manual. "The Federal Records Act puts the obligation on the government official to determine what is and is not a federal record. The State Department Foreign Affairs Manual outlines guidance 'designed to help employees determine which of their e-mail messages must be preserved as federal records and which may be deleted without further authorization because they are not Federal record materials." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

SECRETARY CLINTON'S ATTORNEYS USED MANY LAYERS OF SEARCHES IN ORDER TO DETERMINE WHICH WERE WORK-RELATED

Clinton Spokesman: "Secretary Clinton Directed Her Attorneys To Assist [In Determining Which Emails Of Hers Were Work-Related] By Identifying And Preserving All Emails That Could Potentially Be Federal Records." "Following conversations with Department officials and in response to the Department's October 28, 2014 letter to former Secretaries requesting assistance in meeting the Department's record-keeping requirements, Secretary Clinton directed her attorneys to assist by identifying and preserving all emails that could potentially be federal records. This entailed a multi-step

process to provide printed copies of the Secretary's work-related emails to the Department, erring on the side of including anything that might potentially be a federal record. As the State Department has said, Secretary Clinton was the first to respond to this letter." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

Clinton Spokesman: In Order To Determine Which Emails Would Be Released, Clinton Attorneys Searched By Date, Sender, Recipient, And Keywords Including "Benghazi." "A search was conducted on Secretary Clinton's email account for all emails sent and received from 2009 to her last day in office, February 1, 2013. After this universe was determined, a search was conducted for a '.gov' (not just state.gov) in any address field in an email. This produced over 27,500 emails, representing more than 90% of the 30,490 printed copies that were provided to the Department. To help identify any potential non-'.gov' correspondence that should be included, a search of first and last names of more than 100 State Department and other U.S. government officials was performed. This included all Deputy Secretaries, Under Secretaries, Assistant Secretaries, Ambassadors-at-Large, Special Representatives and Envoys, members of the Secretary's Foreign Policy Advisory Board, and other senior officials to the Secretary, including close aides and staff. Next, to account for non-obvious or non-recognizable email addresses or misspellings or other idiosyncrasies, the emails were sorted and reviewed both by sender and recipient. Lastly, a number of terms were specifically searched for, including: 'Benghazi' and 'Libya.'" [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]

SECRETARY DID NOT ROUTINELY CORRESPOND WITH FOREIGN LEADERS THROUGH EMAIL

Clinton Spokesman: "During Her Time At State, [Clinton] Communicated With Foreign Officials In Person, Through Correspondence, And By Telephone...The Review Of All Of Her Emails Revealed Only One Email With A Foreign (UK) Official." [Nick Merrill, 3/10/15]